

No. *9335.4A334

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**COMMUNIST THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES
THROUGH THE CARIBBEAN**

**HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE
Committee on the Judiciary
UNITED STATES SENATE
EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION**

PART 2

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH ZACK KORNFEDER

**SUPPLEMENTED BY A STAFF STUDY
COMMUNIST ANTI-AMERICAN RIOTS**

AUGUST 13, 1959

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1959

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UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS, OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:35 a.m., in room 2228, New Senate Office Building, Senator Kenneth B. Keating presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; Frank W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator KEATING. The subcommittee will come to order.

The first witness this morning is Mr. Joseph Kornfeder.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you come forward, Mr. Kornfeder, and be sworn.

Senator KEATING. Mr. Kornfeder, would you raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you give in this proceeding will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Be seated, Mr. Kornfeder.

Senator KEATING. Counsel, would you proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH ZACK KORNFEDER

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you give us your full name, sir.

Mr. KORNFEDER. My name is Joseph Zack Kornfeder.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of what country are you a citizen?

Mr. KORNFEDER. United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. You live in the United States at the present time?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your national origin, Mr. Kornfeder?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I was born in what was formerly Austria-Hungary.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you been a student of the Communist conspiracy, Mr. Kornfeder?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I did not hear.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you been a student of the world Communist conspiracy?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you, as a matter of fact, been at one time a part of that conspiracy?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you operate as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, I was a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America, and for a period of about 3 years I was a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; and I was, for 2 years, in South America. I was one of the principal founders of the Communist Party of Colombia and of Venezuela. In fact, I was sent down there for the purpose of organizing these two Communist Parties.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, before I proceed with the further questioning of this witness, I would like to offer for the record at this time an excerpt from the book "Look Southward, Uncle," by Edward Tomlinson. This excerpt consists of a statement of the significance of Latin America to the internal security of the United States.

Senator KEATING. That may be made a part of the record.

(The excerpt referred to follows:)

WHAT LATIN AMERICA MEANS TO US

OUR LAST LINE OF DEFENSE

Our stake in these countries is more than economic. It is also military and political. With these 20 republics solidly on our side, we could be almost invincible in time of war, even if they did not supply a single soldier to support us in battle. Our access to the Panama Canal would be a first strategic consideration. With Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela as bases from which to operate planes and submarine chasers, we could, as we did in the last war, meet an undersea offensive from the Atlantic. We could protect the bauxite mines, the iron mines, and the oil fields of eastern Venezuela and the Guianas.

When you study the geography of Central America and western South America, you find that Panama and the canal are in the tip of a triangle. The Central American countries stretch northwestward at an angle of 40°, while the coast of Ecuador and Peru bulge out westward. Eight hundred miles out at sea in this triangle are the Galápagos Islands, flanking the Pacific sea lanes to the Isthmian Waterway. In the last war our bombers and fighters operated from bases in all Central American countries, on the Galápagos, and on the bulge of Ecuador and Peru. We shall need access to these again, for guarding the waterway itself and for protecting ships as they approach or leave the canal.

The great hump of Brazil that juts so far out into the South Atlantic is 2,700 miles farther eastward than New York. It is only 1,400 miles from the western bulge of Africa at Dakar and is nearer to the Mediterranean area and the bases of Russian bombers in Rumania than is the mainland of the United States. We would need the cooperation of Brazil in manning the naval and air bases at Fortaleza and Recife, Brazil, just as we did in World War II, to protect shipping lanes in the South Atlantic and to prevent the bombing and destruction of the great new manganese mines in the Brazilian northland.

In January 1957, after much serious negotiation, we effected an agreement with Brazil by which we erected a guided-missile tracking or control station on the bleak isle of Fernando de Noronha, 125 miles off the mainland. This installation also would be effective in detecting preparations by an enemy for launching missiles from across the Atlantic.

Unfortunately, pressure on the Brazilian Government by nationalistic elements in that country, in the military forces and in Congress, prevented a long-term pact. Under the initial agreement, our own technicians will be permitted to remain on the island only 5 years, unless the period is extended later. At the end of that time all the installations and equipment are to be turned over to the Brazilians.

There is a strong possibility that research in the guided-missile field has made the present equipment and techniques completely out of date. New discoveries might have made it possible to guide long-range missiles from airplanes or long-distance radar. But this remains to be seen.

"In the next war," a top military authority told me recently, "we may expect our enemies to attack not only the United States, but the great mineral and metallurgical mining centers in Canada and the nations to the south of us. These will be among their chief objectives. The enemy knows that, without immense

quantities of these strategic products of Latin America and our neighbor to the north, we would have the greatest difficulty building the machines and gadgets with which to defend ourselves, much less to fight a great offensive. "Latin America," he declared, "is our last line of defense."

Recently the U.S. Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, after 10 months of hearings and investigation, reported that "the Western Hemisphere can be defended and will be the only dependable source to the United States of critical materials in the event of an all-out war." The report went on to say, "The expanded range of air power and guided missiles makes clear the danger of chaining our war machine exclusively to sources of strategic and critical materials located in the Eastern Hemisphere, in Europe, Africa, or Asia; and makes it mandatory that 'going-concern production sources' be developed in South America."

Next to Canada, these countries and their teeming millions will be for all time our closest neighbors. Their future is inextricably tied to ours, and ours to theirs. It is impossible for what takes place in one not to affect the other directly or indirectly. We might and probably could get along if Europe—France, Italy, even Britain—should be overrun by the Communists. We would still have a broad ocean between us. But Latin America joins on to the United States. Any attack on these Republics would be an attack on us, even without considering the various inter-American treaties that obligate us to make common cause with them, and them with us.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Kornfeder, you have broken with the Communist Party?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I have.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was that?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I broke with them in 1934.

Mr. SOURWINE. Since that time you have been anti-Communist?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I have.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, were you prepared especially in any way for your job of going to South America to help organize the Communist Parties in the countries there?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. I, for 3 years, was in the Lenin College in Moscow, which is a leadership training college.

Mr. SOURWINE. You spent 3 years at the Lenin school?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. What were you taught there about the necessity of defeating the United States?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, the United States was considered the principal block to the conquest of the globe by the Communists, and we were taught that capitalism is not going to fall until the United States falls.

Mr. SOURWINE. Until the United States falls?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right. And, therefore, the defeat of the United States was the principal ultimate objective of everything that was done.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say the principal ultimate objective; you mean of all Soviet strategy?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does this remain so today?

Mr. KORNFEDER. It certainly does.

Mr. SOURWINE. Has there been any change of emphasis in this regard since you attended the Lenin school?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, yes; there has been a change.

Mr. SOURWINE. Explain that.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, Moscow has a system of what one may call immediate priorities and ultimate objectives. The immediate priority in the thirties and forties was China and Germany. At the present time the priority is on the United States; they are concentrating in

every respect upon the United States. And, South America is, as it were, one of the ways of concentrating upon the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you went to the Lenin school to prepare for your job of going to South America to organize Communist Parties there, were you given specific training for your duties in Latin America, which was not given to other Communist agents who were to be sent elsewhere?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. There was one part of the training that applied only to South America.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was that part?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That was a 3-week intensive briefing by Red army officers who specialized in guerrilla warfare.

Mr. SOURWINE. Guerrilla warfare. Was this given to others who were to go to South American countries too?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right. South America was considered the proper terrain for this type of warfare, both topographically and politically.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Kornfeder, what is the organization of the Communist Party with regard to South America?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, the International Communist Party, which is run from Moscow, has two bureaus, field bureaus, which coordinate the activities of the Communist Parties on the Latin American Continent. One was operating out of Montevideo and the other originally was operating from New York.

The New York bureau had jurisdiction over all Communist Parties down to and including the Panama Canal, and the other bureau had jurisdiction over the parties of the continent proper, down to Argentina.

These two bureaus were the ones that were in immediate charge of all of the operations of the various Communist Parties within their jurisdiction.

Mr. SOURWINE. What were those two bureaus called?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The bureau in Montevideo was the Latin American Bureau, and the bureau in the Caribbean was called the Caribbean Bureau.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was the one in New York?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That was the one in New York.

Senator KEATING. May I interrupt there.

Are you speaking now of some prior time or as of today?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, I am certain these bureaus are still there; they couldn't operate without them.

Senator KEATING. In other words, it is your opinion that there is still this division, and the two bureaus still exist at the present?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right, Senator.

Mr. SOURWINE. To summarize, then, up to the present time you are testifying that Moscow has maintained for over 20 years, and maintains today, an organization to direct and supervise Communist activities in Latin America;

That the long-range ultimate objective of this always has been the overthrow or collapse of the United States;

And that in recent years, I think you said since World War II, the priority has been given to this thrust at the United States?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, what part did you have in this Communist organization, with respect to Latin America?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, before I went to South America from Moscow, I was a member for about 9 months, ex officio, of the Latin American Secretariat in Moscow. This is a secretariat that coordinates the activities of the two field bureaus from Moscow down. It is the one that discusses strategy, the field bureau discusses and decides mostly on tactics, the major strategy being decided in Moscow, and the instructions are channeled through the Latin American Secretariat.

On the Moscow level, all the operations in Latin America are coordinated through the Latin American Secretariat.

Then, later, when I returned from South America, I was made a member of the Caribbean Bureau, due to my experience down there. The chairman of the bureau at that time was Alexander Bittelman.

Mr. SOURWINE. Bittelman?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

And, the chairman of the bureau down in Montevideo, a Russian, a very able individual by the name of Guralski.

Mr. SOURWINE. Guralski?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Senator KEATING. Was Bittelman an American citizen?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, I thought he was, but later on it was shown he wasn't.

Senator KEATING. He was in charge of the New York office, you mean?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Senator KEATING. Do you know of his present whereabouts?

Mr. KORNFEDER. He is still in the United States.

Senator KEATING. Is he in New York now?

Mr. KORNFEDER. To the best of my belief, he is.

Senator KEATING. Is he still engaged in the same activities?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That, I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who is the head of the Caribbean Bureau at the present time?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The present head, no; I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who is the present head of the Latin American Bureau?

Mr. KORNFEDER. You mean the one in Montevideo?

Mr. SOURWINE. Montevideo.

Mr. KORNFEDER. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did Palmiro Togliatti have anything to do with the Communist activities in the Caribbean?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Togliatti was the secretary at the Latin American Secretariat in Moscow.

Mr. SOURWINE. At the time you were there?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Mr. SOURWINE. We have a situation in which the secretary of the Latin American Secretariat is not a Latin American, but Italian; the head of the Caribbean Bureau is not Latin American but a North American; and the head of the bureau for the continent is not a

Latin American but a Russian. Is this typical of the operation, that people foreign to the country where the operation is being concentrated always head up the operation?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, yes; definitely. Moscow utilizes its trained personnel wherever it considers it necessary, irrespective of any nationality.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there any Communist policy to avoid having a continental movement or a subcontinental division or bureau headed by a native of that particular area?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. That is one of the rules; the Moscow representative cannot be a native of the country in which he is sent to operate.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that to protect him against the dangers of nationalism and chauvinism?

Mr. KORNFEDER. He may be infected by friendships—well, by other considerations, if he was a native of the same country.

Senator KEATING. In other words, Bittelman was actually a native of what country?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Bittelman was a native of Russia, but he had lived in the United States for a long, long time.

Senator KEATING. But you now know that he had never become an American citizen?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right, Senator.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have told us of the jurisdiction of these two bureaus.

Now, what can you tell us about their functions, their financing, their personnel?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, the financing, of course, is done entirely from Moscow, and they have an operational budget, usually decided 1 year ahead, and in which the amount is figured on the basis of the minimum and a maximum.

All the operations of these bureaus are paid by Moscow, including all the agents they utilize, or any publications that they may subsidize—that is, everything that has to do with these two bureaus is paid from Moscow, not from the local organizations.

Mr. SOURWINE. At the time you were with the Caribbean Bureau, what was the size of the personnel there?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, there were only seven persons on it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any reason to believe it is larger now, or would the bureau be the same size now?

Mr. KORNFEDER. These bureaus are always small, but they hold periodical conferences to which they invite the principal functionaries of the various Communist Parties under their jurisdiction.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the control goes downward that way?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, at the time that you were familiar with a part of Communist work in Latin America, what persons did you know who were then active in that work, who are still active in the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. KORNFEDER. You mean in South America?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, to the best of my knowledge, those still active that I knew personally, is, at the present time, the secretary of the Communist Party of Colombia, whose name is Gilberto Viera.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that V-i-e-r-a?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Then, the present secretary of the Communist Party of Venezuela, Juan Fuenmayor.

Mr. SOURWINE. F-u-e-n-m-a-y-o-r?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

These individuals became radicals while they were students at the Universities of Bogotá or Caracas, and very able individuals and very personable—I mean, educated individuals. They came from some of the best families of those two countries.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know another student, Delgado—Francisco Delgado?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes, Francisco Delgado. He also originated at the University of Caracas, and he was a very able individual, especially as an organizer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you work with these men at that time?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it part of your function at that time to recruit students, student leaders, into the parties, that is, respectively in Venezuela and Colombia?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, in South America that is one of the principal approaches of the Communists, to get at the students, and the students down there are, as it were, ideologically preoccupied with politics, and that, of course, conditions them for the type of propaganda and methods that the Communists have.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did Gilberto Viera, at the time you were in Colombia, have a particular function directly under you?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. I made him a manager of the paper.

Mr. SOURWINE. What paper?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The party published a weekly paper which was, of course, paid for out of the subsidy that I had for the operation, the paper at that time we called Verdad Obrera.

Mr. SOURWINE. This was a Communist paper?

Mr. KORNFEDER. This was a Communist paper, although it didn't say so on the masthead.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you get the subsidy that you spoke of?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I had an authorization for the first year for operations in Colombia, the minimum, which was \$15,000.

Mr. SOURWINE. You got that money from Moscow?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever get any money from the United States for your operations in Latin America?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, the money was transferred to me through the United States by an arrangement with the then secretary of the party, Earl Browder,¹ but it was Moscow money.

Mr. SOURWINE. The money came to you through the United States, through Earl Browder, but from Moscow?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, do you recall any other persons who you know worked with you as Communists, when you were in Latin America, and who are still active in the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. KORNFEDER. You mean those that were not active in South America itself?

Mr. SOURWINE. I am asking for anyone whom you at that time knew to have been active in the party, in South America or Latin America, who is presently still active in the party.

Mr. KORNFEDER. I have no doubt that Bittelman is still active in this operation, due to his experience. Most of the others that I knew at the time are, as far as I know, out of the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you were on the Caribbean Bureau, were there any other Americans on it besides Bittelman?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. There was—well, I remember some.

Senator KEATING. Now, what year was this?

Mr. KORNFEDER. This was 1932, and 1933.

¹ Robert Alexander, author of "Communism in Latin America" has acknowledged in his foreword that Earl Browder has given him considerable information which he has used in his book, from which the following references are given:

(1) Mr. Alexander states that the Communist Parties of the Caribbean were directed from New York and that leaders of the Communist Party, U.S.A., intervened in the affairs of the Mexican Communist Party at least twice during the 1920's. In 1937 Earl Browder intervened to prevent the Mexican Communists from engineering a split in the Confederation of Workers of Mexico. He talked at considerable length with Vicente Lombardo Toledano. (36)

(2) Leading American Communists were assigned to missions in Latin America, as for example, Joseph Zack Kornfeder. (36)

(3) Financial contributions to Latin American Communist Parties came from New York. (37)

(4) Leading Comintern agents who were known in American Communist circles were active in Latin America, such as Arthur Ewert (111), Carlos Contreras (37) and Gerhart Eisler. Leading members of the Comintern took part in discussions regarding Latin America. (38)

(5) Earl Browder participated in a meeting with the Latin American Communist Parties while he was in Moscow. He was suggested as the principal adviser and consultant of the Latin American Communist parties. There were frequent conferences between Browder and leaders of Latin American Communist parties in New York. (38)

(6) The Conference of Latin American Communist Parties was held in Moscow in 1938 at which Browder and Manuilsky, Comintern leader, were present. (42)

(7) Dmitri Manuilsky addressed a meeting of delegates of various Latin American Communist Parties in Moscow in 1938 urging that "Above all, our force must be used in defense of the Soviet Union." The entire statement is most significant. Browder was undoubtedly present at this meeting. (43, 44)

(8) Browder intervened in the Mexican Communist Party affairs in 1937 and on other occasions. (79) An account of this appeared in the New York Daily Worker of July 3, 1937. (333, 334)

(9) Earl Browder intervened with President Roosevelt in behalf of Victorio Codovilla, a leading Latin American Communist. (170)

(10) Statement on unity of Latin American Communist Parties. ("The Second Imperialist War" by Earl Browder, p. 45.)

(11) Statement attacking Leon Trotsky and his activities in Mexico. ("The People's Front" by Earl Browder, pp. 305, 306, 307.)

(12) Chapter entitled "Labor Unity in Mexico." (Ibid., pp. 321 to 326, a speech delivered in Mexico City on June 29, 1937.)

(13) Statement on Latin America and Mexico. ("The Way Out" by Earl Browder, p. 40.)

(14) The Pan-American conference in Havana. (Ibid., pp. 74-80 which appeared in the Daily Worker of July 19, 1940.)

(15) Chapter entitled "The Situation in Mexico." (Ibid., pp. 94, 95, which appeared in the Daily Worker of Sept. 8, 1940.)

(16) Statement on mass movements in Latin American countries. (Ibid., pp. 174, 175, from a report to the National Committee of the Communist Party, Nov. 16, 1940.)

(17) Statement on Latin America and American imperialism. (Ibid., p. 201, from a speech delivered at the Lenin memorial meeting, Madison Square Garden on Jan. 13, 1941.)

(18) Chapter entitled "Good Neighbors in the Americas." ("Teheran" by Earl Browder, pp. 56 to 63.)

(19) Chapter entitled "Latin America's Contribution to Victory." ("Victory and After" by Earl Browder pp. 213 to 224.)

(20) The following articles by Browder are taken from the Communist, also known as Political Affairs:

"Browder on Latin America," February 1939, p. 132; also, September 1939, p. 756.

"Browder on Latin America," September 1940, p. 819.

"Browder and Mexico," May 1941, p. 447.

"Browder and Latin America," June 1941, pp. 496, 520 f., 530.

"Latin America Demands Browder's Freedom," August 1941, p. 693.

Senator KEATING. Do you know whether the ones you are about to name are still active in the Caribbean Bureau?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No, I don't. I am not sure whether they are or not.

Senator KEATING. We will receive such evidence as that, in executive session, not in a public hearing.

Mr. KORNFEDER. The only reason I would have for saying it is that it requires a great deal of experience to be on these bureaus, and those that have acquired experience, as long as they remain in the party, are usually assigned to this type of operation.

Senator KEATING. I think in the case of Bittelman, you believe him to be still connected with the Caribbean Bureau.

Mr. KORNFEDER. With the Latin American activities, yes.

Senator KEATING. But in other cases you are not informed at this time whether or not they are?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right, sir. I don't know it for positive.

Senator KEATING. I think we had better receive that evidence in executive session, as far as the naming of names is concerned.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I should like to have permission to read to the witness one brief passage from the book, "Outline of Political History of the Americas," by William Z. Foster, and I want to ask the witness for the significance of this paragraph:

The writer wishes to express his thanks to the many men and women who either read and criticized the manuscripts of the books or cooperated in the extensive research and technical work required for its writings. These include James S. Allen, Herbert Aptheker, Marion Bachrach, Theodore Bassett, Eric Bert, Alexander Bittelman, Tim Buck, Vittorio Codovilla, J. Colon, Karl Dorfman, Robert W. Dunn, Dionisio Encina, Philip S. Foner, Gilbert Green, Grace Hutchins, Cesar Andreu Iglesias, Blas Roca, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Stanley B. Ryerson, Joseph Starobin, Celeste Strack, and Robert Thompson.

This is a book written by William Z. Foster, outlining the history, as he sees it.

What is the significance of this paragraph of credit?

Senator KEATING. What is the date of that?

Mr. SOURWINE. 1951.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, the significance is that all these individuals were familiar with one or another aspect of Communist operations in South America, that is why Foster consulted them in writing the book. I know quite a number of those that you have listed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, let's see which ones of them you know.

Do you know James Allen?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I know Allen, but under a different name. I don't recall the name any more.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he a Communist?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he an American Communist?

Mr. KORNFEDER. As far as I know.

Mr. SOURWINE. He is?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes.

Senator KEATING. Now, you are speaking of today, when you say "Communist today," you know him to be a Communist today?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, he is still active in the Communist organization.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was his name you knew him under?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I can't recall at the moment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Auerbach?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Auerbach; that's right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you recognize the name of Herbert Aptheker?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes; I recognized the name but I can't place his image; I don't know whether I'm right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he an American?

Mr. KORNFEDER. As far as I know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether he is a Communist?

Mr. KORNFEDER. He is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you recognize the name of Marion Bachrach?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes; I recognize the name.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know that individual as a Communist?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes; I know her as a Communist. I don't know whether she is still in the party.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say, "her"—Marion? Marion Bachrach? Is that a man or a woman?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I was under the impression it was a woman.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Alexander Bittelman you testified about?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Victorio Cordovilla?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I know him by reputation, I don't know him personally.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he an Argentine?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Dionisio Encina?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Who is that?

Mr. SOURWINE. Dionisio Encina—E-n-c-i-n-a.

Mr. KORNFEDER. No, I don't think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. He is a Mexican, isn't he?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Cesar Iglesias?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. A Puerto Rican, isn't he?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Blas Roca?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Blas Roca I remember; I remember vaguely.

He is from Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Carlos Rafael Rodriguez?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I believe he is also from Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Joseph Starobin?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I know him as a Communist, but I know him under a different name; again I cannot recall the name at the moment.

Mr. SOURWINE. So, here you have people from a half a dozen American countries, speaking of the whole hemisphere, North and South America, who were cooperating with William Z. Foster in the preparation of this book on history, from the Communist slant?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, I may say also at this point that the American Communist Party all along, from the early twenties, had, as it were, an authorization from Moscow, of political patronage over the activities in South America, and throughout the years has used many of its members as organizers in South America. In fact, originally whatever activity was in South America was directed from New York.

The two bureaus, that I mentioned, were only created, one in the mid-twenties and the other was created in 1931. Until then the American party was the one that was directing whatever Communist activities were in South America, and ever since the American party is consulted on anything relating to Latin America.

Senator KEATING. What was the address in New York City of the Caribbean Bureau?

Mr. KORNFEDER. They met—it was a secret bureau which, of course, operated like all of their bureaus, through secret addresses, but the meetings were held at the party headquarters at that time.

Senator KEATING. Have you had any contacts since you broke with the party in 1934; have you had any contacts with any of these individuals since that time?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No. When a leader—I was one of the leaders—quits, well, the situation that develops as a result of it is such that none of the other leaders would dare to contact him except by special instructions. I, of course, knew that, and I did not contact them, neither.

Senator KEATING. And you have not bumped into them in any way since then?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, I have bumped into them, but the bumping didn't lead to any briefing.

Senator KEATING. I am curious about a person who breaks with the Communist Party and runs into his former friends who were in it. What does he do? Do they speak?

Mr. KORNFEDER. He just stares through them as if they were not there.

Senator KEATING. They don't have any communication, then?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right. They build a system of hatred; if you quit them and you are a leader, you are an enemy. In fact, you are worse than the usual enemy. They consider you, let's say, all non-Communists, in the category of enemies, it depends how much, how active they happen to be, but a leader that quits them, well, he has a high priority as an enemy.

Senator KEATING. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you left Moscow to take up your work in Latin America, were you given any task with respect to Panama?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. I was supposed to stop in Panama and settle a dispute that was then going on between three groups of Communists.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you perform that task?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No. I did not perform the task because the address I had for the initial contact proved to be a false one, and I could not stay there and wait for some new addresses.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that dispute among the Communist factions in Panama subsequently settled?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes; it was. According to my information, it was later handled by Romulo Betancourt who is now President of Venezuela, who at that time was a Communist.

Senator KEATING. Was he working with you in the bureau at that time?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No. Well, he was one of the principal operators in South America, and he, I am sure, worked under the direction of the bureau, but I never actually met the individual.

Senator KEATING. What was his—was he in an official position in his country at that time?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No. That was during the dictatorship of Juan Vincente Gomez. He was one of those exiled, so he worked in other South American countries, but not in Venezuela.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you go first when you went there—Colombia or Venezuela?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I first went to Colombia.

Mr. SOURWINE. Outline for us briefly your operations in Colombia.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, in Colombia it was possible to operate more or less openly, although there was a special law against communism on the statute books. But in the Lenin School one is taught how to bypass that type of legislation, and we just operated formally as being not Communist, being something else.

So, one could organize committees and fronts, and so on, rather openly, and so I proceeded along that line.

Senator KEATING. You were taught to deny you were a Communist if it was necessary, to serve your purposes?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Senator KEATING. And you were taught that an oath meant nothing and that you didn't have to comply with any oath if you were asked if you were a Communist?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. That holds true for all Communists, because an oath is what they call—they call it bourgeois fiction, which, of course, a Communist isn't supposed to be impressed by at all.

Well, the contact in Colombia was made. I had a number of addresses of members of a party that was disintegrating, that was known then as the "Partido Socialista Revolucionario."

Mr. SOURWINE. The Socialist Revolutionary Party of Colombia?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right, and there were still about 60 active individuals.

Mr. SOURWINE. Sixteen or sixty?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Sixty of that organization who could be considered as potentially active elements. One of those mentioned is Gilberto Viera who later became secretary of the Communist Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was there a high proportion of students among this 60?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, yes. There was a group of students at the University of Bogotá. In fact, they were from the beginning the principal group.

Then, through this party that was then going to pieces, we obtained some contacts amongst the labor unions and especially a group amongst the Colombian peasants, and I started training these elements by bringing them to Bogotá and giving them a 2 weeks' training course especially in organization work. Organization is the thing that they know the least about, and they are tremendously impressed by anyone that brings with them organization knowledge. So, I trained those groups in 2-week courses, about 10 at a time, and that really paid off as far as organization is concerned. They were the elements out of which we later on formed a committee to organize a labor federation in Colombia, and a peasants' league amongst the coffee plantation workers and other peasants.

Well, also out of that group—we had the beginnings of an intelligentsia for the party. After about a year of concentrated activity, we had an organization of about 1,200 members in the Communist Party,

plus groups inside labor unions and, for the first time in the history of Colombia, an organization amongst the peasants.

Mr. SOURWINE. You went there with 60, and at the end of about a year you had 1,200?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had infiltrated the labor unions, you had created a front operation for operations among the peasants?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you go then—to Venezuela?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. Then I went to Venezuela.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us about your work in Venezuela.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, Venezuela was an entirely different situation. It was one of those pretty tight dictatorships under a man who had originally been, so the story says, a bandit in the Andes, a very able one.

Senator KEATING. A what?

Mr. KORNFEDER. A bandit in the Andes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you talking about Juan Vincente Gomez?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That is one of the big mountain ranges.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is the man you are speaking of?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Gomez, Juan Vincente Gomez. He established a dictatorship, taking over a democratic situation, but by the time I got down there it was a dictatorship which did not allow any opposition whatsoever, whether Communist, Socialist, Liberal, Conservative, or whatnot. He just didn't allow operations—period.

And, the organization had to be underground from the very beginning. The contacts there again were first with the students at the University of Caracas, and basing myself on the experience in Colombia, I began to instruct them in organization techniques.

Well, it didn't take long, I probably had trained about two groups, each of them of 10 individuals, when the dictator's political police raided the place where we were meeting, and so, together with about 10 others, I was taken to one of the most notorious jails in South America.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were arrested and put in jail?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What town, what city?

Mr. KORNFEDER. In Caracas.

Mr. SOURWINE. A prison in Caracas?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The name of the prison, which later on was torn down after Gomez died, was La Rotunda.

Mr. SOURWINE. La Rotunda?

Mr. KORNFEDER. An ancient fort built by the Spaniards, and later on converted into a prison.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long were you in that prison?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I was there about 5 months.

Mr. SOURWINE. What effect did this arrest and imprisonment have on your work for the Communist Party.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, it had a very good effect.

Mr. SOURWINE. A good effect?

Mr. KORNFEDER. A very good effect.

See, the grapevine in this type of country is quite an institution, and when it became known among the intellectuals, who were all opposed to the dictatorship, that the Communists had at last come to help

them, the effect of that was considerable, and also I found out that in the prison they had established a method of contacting, even though all precautions were taken against contacts.

The prison was divided into different compartments very much separated, so it seemed, but actually the word went around that at long last the Communists, who knew how to organize, have come and after Gomez died and all these intellectuals got out of the prison, the party had a considerable influence among them, and accounts for their very fast growth.

Senator KEATING. You were not there when he died?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No; I was already back in the United States.

Senator KEATING. Were you given any trial of any kind there?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No. They don't proceed with trials, that is just something like in Russia; you are arrested, thrown in jail, and then if the dictator makes up his mind for one reason or another to let you go, you are just let go; that's all.

Senator KEATING. I was just coming to—

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you get out?

Senator KEATING. I was coming to that. How did you get out?

Mr. KORNFEDER. In my case, of course, I was not a Venezuelan, I was an American. So, I had the privilege of having a whole cell to myself, instead of being bunched together with 20 others. I was in solitary, which was—well, no one else had that privilege in that prison, but I got out through the efforts of the State Department.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of the United States?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Mr. SOURWINE. How was this brought about?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, I don't know the details, but I know that the party used its contacts in the United States to push the case.

Mr. SOURWINE. This was in what year?

Mr. KORNFEDER. This was in 1932.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, after you were sprung from the Venezuelan jail by the State Department of the United States, did you go forward with your work as a Comintern agent, or did you then leave Venezuela?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, I was deported in grand style, with a decree signed by President Gomez appearing on the front pages of all the papers in Venezuela.

Mr. SOURWINE. You then left Venezuela?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is when you returned to New York and became a member of the Caribbean bureau of the Communists?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Mr. SOURWINE. While you were in Venezuela, you said most of your work had to be done underground. Were there any particular classes or groups of people or workers on whom you were instructed to concentrate?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, yes. For Venezuela, the instruction was to concentrate on the oil workers in Maracaibo, the oil area.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you do that?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, I did not have the time to. I only, as it were, set up a committee to do that, and trained them for several weeks in organization techniques. But, the instructions were to first create a political organization. It would not do to come into a country and say, "Well, Moscow wants you to be organized."

You do that in the name of a native movement, so since there was no such movement, that movement had to be first created. But, the strategy of Moscow in this respect was, however, carried out because the concentration in subsequent years was on the oil workers and the oil workers in Venezuela did get organized by the Communists.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why the oil workers? Why did they want to concentrate on the oil workers?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That has to do, again, with the overall perspective on the United States. They figured that—they think way ahead when it comes to big strategic patterns. They figured that in the final clash with the United States, the oil of Venezuela, which is high quality oil, would play a big role, and if they could shut it off during strategic moments and sabotage it, and so on and so forth, it would play an important role in the situation.

So, they were 20 years ahead. But the United States was even then their long-range objective.

Now, they are concentrating directly on it; at that time it was a long-range objective, and they thought that far ahead, and the instruction was to concentrate on organizing the oil workers above all, but first organize the party through which to do it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Has the Communist international conspiracy continued to send representatives into Latin America since you left the party?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, I am sure they have. They couldn't operate without it.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you know of such agents?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, they have periodical conferences of representatives of Communist Parties, and at these conferences names reappeared that I happened to be familiar with. They carry on campaigns with the same line throughout Latin America, irrespective of parties—a thing like, for instance, Nixon's tour—there, I could very well understand, knowing their organization in such an operation, because I had participated while I was down there in other similar operations that were organized on a continental basis.

They have a cohesive machine which is well centralized and can carry out strategy and tactics, and do it at a great speed.

Senator KEATING. Do you know if they have, now?

Mr. KORNFEDER. They have now, and they had then.

Senator KEATING. Mr. Khrushchev says that they don't carry on any activities outside of Russia, but they are only interested in maintaining the Communist Party and the movement in Russia. You find yourself in considerable disagreement with that, do you?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, that is a fiction, probably the biggest fiction of all fictions, because, they always maintain that they are not responsible for activities of the Communist Parties; they are responsible only for the official declarations and statements of the Soviet Government.

But, Senator, I can assure you that it is the biggest lie that was ever presented on earth. There isn't an ounce of truth in it. I mean the whole thing is directed from Moscow, always was.

Senator KEATING. Tell me, Mr. Kornfeder, what caused you to break with the Communist Party?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, there were two things that prompted me, and principal among them was what I saw in Russia; it was so much contrary to what I thought was there. I mean ideals, my ideals—

Senator KEATING. Let me interrupt you a minute. You went back there in 1934, did you?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I was there from 1927 to 1930.

Senator KEATING. Yes, but you left there as a dedicated Communist.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, I was still a Communist in my theoretical thinking and, in fact, I was still a Communist—period.

But, I had some thoughts—

Senator KEATING. I see.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Thoughts that began to grow, and the thoughts originated from my stay in Russia, and the reason for them were two-fold, in brief:

One was the actual situation, which was very different from what the Daily Worker in the United States would say. I mean, the description in the Communist press in the United States about the idyllic conditions in Russia were simply completely a hoax.

But, the other thing that impressed me as a Communist is that for the first time, Communists arrested Communists, that was the purge of the Trotskyites.

Now, this you should understand, made a special impact on Communists because Lenin, the founder of this thing, had warned in his last will, against Communists settling disputes among themselves through police methods, and here was Stalin arresting thousands of party members who had made the revolution, because there was disagreement on some phases of strategy.

Well, the impact of that kept on, as it were, working on me, and although I didn't want to admit that I had been a fool for 15 years and a very active fool, by the way—

Senator KEATING. You say an active fool?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. I finally had to come to the conclusion that I was entirely wrong, which took a few years to do it. As a matter of fact, every leading Communist who quits the party, it takes him anywhere from 2 to 5 years to get the ideas out of his head.

Senator KEATING. How did you come to get into it in the first place?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, I was a Socialist before I became a Communist. I was a member of the Socialist Party of the United States, and in the split inside the Socialist Party I went with the Communist wing of it.

Senator KEATING. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Kornfeder, wasn't Russia deliberately violating the Monroe Doctrine in sending you and other agents into Latin America?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. This thing came up at the Latin American Secretariat in Moscow, came up at a time when several of the students who were members of the Latin American Secretariat were about to return.

And of course I already knew I had an assignment, so Togliatti gave us some briefing on that. He was then the secretary, and his briefing was that we should not concern ourselves with it.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is, with the Monroe Doctrine?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The Monroe Doctrine. We should not concern ourselves with it because the doctrine was designed for a different type of intrusion than the one contemplated or carried out by Communists. That is, the Monroe Doctrine was designed for invasion from outside by foreign powers. That was his contention.

Whereas, the Communists, of course, organize from inside. And furthermore, he said Communists cannot be guided by bourgeois laws which we, at any rate, must violate in the course of our activities anywhere on the globe, so we can't be guided by it in this case. That was his attitude.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, without laboring the point, but so that the record may be clear as to what the Monroe Doctrine comprehends, I offer for the record at this time an excerpt from the Seventh Annual Message of James Monroe, of December 2, 1823.

Senator KEATING. It may be received.

(The document referred to follows:)

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Excerpt from Seventh Annual Message of James Monroe, December 2, 1823

* * * At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange by amicable negotiation the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal has been made by His Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous by this friendly proceeding of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

* * * The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

* * * Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government de facto as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such inter-

position in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course * * *.

(Source: Richardson's "A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents," v. II, p. 778 and 787-8.)

MR. SOURWINE. Mr. Kornfeder, you said that the Kremlin considered all Latin America as a unit for operational purposes. Do I understand you correctly?

MR. KORNFEDER. That's right.

MR. SOURWINE. Does that mean both politically and organizationally?

MR. KORNFEDER. Both politically and organizationally.

MR. SOURWINE. There are 20 different Communist Parties in South America, are there not?

MR. KORNFEDER. Yes, there are.

MR. SOURWINE. How can these 20 different parties be considered as a unit, politically or organizationally, will you explain that?

MR. KORNFEDER. Well, the entire Communist concept is that the Communist Party is one party internationally, and the parties in the various countries are only sections which are guided from one center.

Now, if the center decides to establish subcenters like, for instance, the Caribbean Bureau, well, that is just a mechanism through which the centralized international party operates. That is their basic concept. They do not operate on the basis of each individual party being either autonomous or semiautonomous or being autonomous in any way. They are just one cog in the total machinery which is directed from a center.

The fact that they establish continental or semicontinental bureaus that is only for the purpose of carrying out the major concepts of this being one international party.

Of course, they preach nationalism, but anyone that becomes a nationalist, as a Communist, is expelled, because they cannot tolerate nationalism inside the Communist Party. That is something for the other fellow. They figure they can use the nationalism of the others for their purposes.

For instance, in this particular case they would like to disintegrate the inter-American relations that exist and nothing is better than nationalism, extremist nationalism, with which to make the approach. So, they preach nationalism, but actually their ultimate program, if they ever would succeed, let's say, to take South America, would be to establish one Soviet Federation over the whole area, just as the Soviet Union is, and direct it from one place and, of course, affiliated with Moscow.

MR. SOURWINE. Mr. Kornfeder, you have told us that the Communist Party's long-range strategic objective has not changed since the early 1930's. Has the strategy line in proceeding toward this objective changed, to your knowledge?

MR. KORNFEDER. Yes, it has.

MR. SOURWINE. Will you tell us about that?

MR. KORNFEDER. Well, this is in fact the most important development in South America in the last 4 years or so.

Originally their strategy in South America was similar to the one in Europe; namely, to work for a Socialist overturn. They then considered South America as being a semideveloped country, I mean,

semi-industrialized. There were some disagreements on that, even then, but in the last 4 years they reversed their strategy in South America completely.

SENATOR KEATING. You mean in the last 4 years dating from now, in these last 4 years?

MR. KORNFEDER. That's right, yes.

They now operate with a strategy which Lenin called the bourgeois democratic revolution, carried out by the proletariat. Now, to unwind this difficult phraseology, they want to carry out a type of revolution in South America which they compare, and they take advantage of the late President Roosevelt, they call it a new deal revolution, as Castro does also, in which they aim to unite all the elements of the population against Yankee imperialism.

We are the exclusive target. They aim to unite against us even what they call the bourgeoisie, except those that happen to work with Yankee imperialism, but the entire attack, sociologically and strategically is concentrated against Yankee imperialism.

Now, this is a considerable departure from the technique that they had been using years before, and they figure that they can effectuate that much more successfully, and I must say, from what I know of South America, that this is a far more dangerous approach than the one they were trying out before. They figure they will ride into power on the basis of such a movement and then, after they entrench themselves, then they will carry out the other thing that they originally had in mind.

In other words, they are now working on the same thing in two stages: First, the so-called new deal revolution manipulated for their purposes and after they ride into power and succeed to entrench themselves, then the Soviet type of revolution.

In other words, you are likely to have a phenomenon in the coming years where the Communist-inspired revolutions wouldn't look like Communist revolutions. They will have all the outside trappings of being bona fide spontaneous democratic rebellions.

In fact, that was the main reason we got confused about the Communist operations in China, as you remember. What they engineered there was called an agrarian reform. Of course it was no such thing.

I recognized their new operation because in the Lenin School, the difference between these two types of revolution are very thoroughly explained and taught and difference in techniques pointed out.

For instance, Dimitri Manuilsky described the techniques they are now using as follows: "For backward countries, backward politics."

MR. SOURWINE. You mean that Moscow regards the countries of Latin America as backward countries?

MR. KORNFEDER. Industrially, backward countries.

MR. SOURWINE. Politically backward?

MR. KORNFEDER. Politically backward, yes.

So, they aim to take those countries, not at one stage, as their original line, which is very difficult and which very often fails, but do it in two stages, along the lines I just indicated.

Now, there is a great deal of documentation on that. This new line has been written in the programs of the Communist Parties in South America since the last—beginning with 1954, the party, the program, the most elaborate dissertation along this line was in the program adopted by the Communist Party of Brazil, and the others following suit throughout the years, including Cuba.

That is the significance of the change. There is much detail in it, but I think when we come to Cuba, it can be explained in more detail.

MR. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may I offer for the record the draft program of the Communist Party of Brazil of 1954?

I have the entire text here, and I respectfully suggest that certain excerpts bearing upon the testimony of this witness might be printed, and the entire program might be put in the files as part of the report by reference.

SENATOR KEATING. Is that a published program of the Communist Party?

MR. SOURWINE. Yes, sir. This is the published program of the Communist Party in Brazil, published in "For A Lasting Peace For A People's Democracy," which is the paper of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers Parties.

SENATOR KEATING. It will be received.

(Excerpts from the document referred to follow:)

EXCERPTS FROM "DRAFT PROGRAMME OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL," PUBLISHED IN "FOR A LASTING PEACE FOR A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY," FEBRUARY 26, 1954 (P. 3, 4)

"The poverty of the people in a country so rich as ours is the result of the predatory policy of the American monopolies, the result of the rule of the owners of the latifundia and big Brazilian capitalists."

* * * * *

"Thus, the entire national economy of Brazil is being turned into a mere appendage to the U.S. war economy. The American imperialists directly interfere in the entire administrative life of the country; they have taken over the state apparatus of Brazil in order ruthlessly to exploit and oppress our people, to plunder the country's natural resources, and to extract maximum profit."

* * * * *

"Thus, the U.S. imperialists are penetrating to all corners of economic, political, social, and cultural life in Brazil, humiliating our people and destroying the independence and sovereignty of our nation which they want to reduce to the status of a U.S. colony."

* * * * *

"Industrialists and traders are unable to expand their business because of the low purchasing power of the working masses and the competition from American goods. American monopolies control entire branches of Brazilian industry and use all the means at their disposal to strangle and retard development of home industry, to prevent the founding of the basic branches of industry needed to free Brazil from the economic dependence in which it now finds itself. The control over bank credits, transport, the distribution of raw materials, and the granting of import and export licences are utilised by the American imperialists against Brazilian industrialists and traders. Imports of machinery needed for the development of industry become more and more difficult while imports of the raw materials necessary for our home industry are more and more restricted."

* * * * *

"The American imperialists do not confine themselves to plundering our national wealth and unbridled exploitation of our people. They also want to involve Brazil in the aggressive war for which they are getting ready. They do not conceal their intention of using the people of Brazil as cannon fodder."

* * * * *

"* * * the war now being prepared by the U.S. imperialists is an aggressive, predatory war aimed at establishing world domination and at enslaving other peoples for the sake of maximum profits."

* * * * *

"History teaches that the war now being prepared by the U.S. against the Soviet Union, China, and the countries of people's democracy is a gamble, doomed beforehand to complete fiasco."

* * * * *

"Should the American imperialists unleash a new war they will suffer inevitable defeat."

* * * * *

"The supreme interests of the people of Brazil call for a complete break with the aggressive militarist and colonising policy of the U.S."

* * * * *

"Brazil must put an end to the hateful American domination and establish closer economic and cultural contact with all countries which recognise and respect our independence, above all with the Soviet Union and China."

* * * * *

"The Vargas Government is implanting in the state apparatus various kinds of U.S. specialists, assistants and advisers who directly interfere in the entire administrative life of the country. By means of its agents, placed by the Vargas Government at the head of the secret service of the armed forces and all police organs in the country, the U.S. intelligence service interferes in the political life of the nation, persecuting Brazilian citizens who refuse to submit to American slavery or who fight for the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of Brazil."

* * * * *

"Brazil needs another, a genuine people's government capable of safeguarding the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. Such a government, as the lawful representative of the broad progressive and anti-imperialist sections of the population, would do away with the hated domination of the U.S. imperialists, confiscate the capital and enterprises belonging to the U.S. monopolies, and carry out a policy of peace and cooperation with all other nations on an equal footing, in keeping with the supreme interests of the nation. * * * This people's government would be in a position to abolish the feudal survivals and the ownership of land by big landlords and would ensure free distribution of the land among the peasants and all those who want to live by agricultural labour. This people's government would put an end to illiteracy and backwardness, wipe out the local diseases, put an end to the machinations and unnecessary expenditure which are of benefit only to the privileged minority, to the expenditure on war preparations and would use all this money for immediate and effective aid to the poor and to those who have suffered from the natural calamities. This people's government would establish a system of complete freedom and democracy for the people, would guarantee industrial workers and other working people their gains, their rights, and ensure for the entire population of Brazil a blossoming, free, and happy life."

* * * * *

"* * * we must put an end to the domination of the owners of the latifundia and the big capitalists in the service of the U.S. imperialists and overthrow the Vargas Government.

"The Communist Party of Brazil is convinced that the democratic transformations needed by our people can be achieved only by a democratic government of national liberation, by a government in which along with the working class there would participate the peasantry and intelligentsia, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie."

* * * * *

"The Communist Party is fighting for Socialism, but it is convinced that in the present economic, social, and political conditions in Brazil socialist transformations are impossible. But it is quite possible to fulfill the task of replacing the present antinational and antipeople's government by a people's government which would free Brazil from the domination of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys—the owners of the latifundia and the big capitalists."

* * * * *

"Annulment of all agreements and treaties with the U.S.A. that encroach on the interests of the nation.

"Confiscation of all capital and enterprises belonging to the American monopolies and annulment of the foreign debt owed by Brazil to the U.S. Government and U.S. banks.

"Clearing out of all military, cultural, economic, and technical U.S. missions from Brazil."

* * * * *

"25. Guaranteed freedom of private initiative for manufacturers and freedom of internal trade. The democratic government of national liberation will not

confiscate the enterprises and capital of the national bourgeoisie. It will, however, confiscate and nationalise the capital and enterprises belonging to big capitalists who have betrayed the interests of the nation and who have alined themselves with the U.S. imperialists."

* * * * *

"26. Protection of the national industry. To ensure that import of foreign goods, mainly American goods, shall not injure home industry or hinder the founding of new industrial branches and enterprises. Free development of industry producing for civilian needs shall be guaranteed.

"27. Independent development of the national economy and the creation of conditions for intensified industrialisation of the country utilising for this purpose the confiscated capital and enterprises of the American imperialists. For this it will be necessary to invite private capital which must be guaranteed profits and protection in accordance with a special law."

* * * * *

"34. Guarantee of freedom of organisation and free activity for the trade unions. The trade unions shall be granted the right freely to conclude collective labour agreements with private and state enterprises and control over their implementation.

"35. All forms of social insurance, including unemployment benefit, shall be paid at state expense and at the expense of the capitalists. Pensions and benefits for victims of industrial accidents in accordance with the needs of the working people and their families. Transfer to the trade unions of management functions and control over the activity of the social security bodies and pension boards."

* * * * *

"37. Confiscation of all land belonging to big landlords and its transfer, free of charge, to landless and land-hungry peasants, and to all who care to till it. Distribution of the land shall be recognised by law and each peasant given title deeds. The possession and seizure of the lands, belonging to both landlords and the state, already effected by the peasants shall also be recognized by law and the peasants will receive necessary title deeds."

* * * * *

"And so all the progressive forces in Brazil irrespective of social status, party affiliation, religious or philosophical convictions, all democrats and patriots anxious to see their homeland free and powerful will rally around the great worker-peasant alliance."

* * * * *

"The Communist Party of Brazil holds that the struggle for the creation, extension, and reinforcing of the democratic front of national liberation is an urgent and pressing task, a matter of honour for all Brazilian patriots."

* * * * *

"The Communist Party of Brazil deems it necessary immediately to unite throughout the country the broad popular masses, people of all classes and social strata ready to fight for democracy and peace, against the policy of war, hunger and reaction pursued by the Vargas Government, to fight for the overthrow of the present government and its replacement by a democratic government of national liberation."

* * * * *

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Kornfeder, you speak of documentation respecting the Communist program for Latin America. Let me ask you about several items here.

Would you consider this Moscow conference in November 1957, of Latin American delegates, as a documentation?

Mr. KORNFEDER. You mean, a description of what took place there?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that there may be inserted in the record at this point, Mr. Chairman, paragraph 24 on page 34 of this subcommittee's publication "The Revival of the Communist International and its Significance for the United States."

It is a short page.

Senator KEATING. It will be received.

(The paragraph referred to follows:)

24. A conference of all Latin American delegates was held under the chairmanship of the CPSU specialist for Latin America. It was attended by Chinese Communist delegates. Those who spoke were representatives of the following Communist parties: Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Cuba, and Guatemala.

The CPSU chairman laid before the meeting a program for the Latin American Communist parties which was accepted. This program included the following points: (a) increased effort to fan and exploit anti-U.S. sentiment; (b) revival of the Communist-controlled peace movement; (c) efforts to attack the Organization of American States through a Communist-controlled conference in defense of culture; (d) support for the Communist movement in Cuba; and (e) promotion of the Soviet economic offensive in Latin America.

The Communist Party of China serves as a coordinating center for Latin American activities. It is known to maintain courses for the training of Communists from that area.

Arrangements were made for a number of secret conferences of Communist parties of Latin America.

Mr. SOURWINE. I show you an article, a photostat of an article from the publication *Kommunist*.

I will ask you whether this article is part of the documentation to which you refer, and while taking that down to the witness, may I ask Mr. Mandel to state for the record what the publication *Kommunist* is.

Mr. MANDEL. The *Kommunist* is published in Moscow and is the official theoretical organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

There is a translation there.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. I know the magazine. I used to be a contributor to it.

Mr. SOURWINE. May I offer this for the record, Mr. Chairman. (Excerpt from "Kommunist" follows:)

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

"Kommunist" Article by Ponomarev on International Communist Movement

This publication presents the full text of an article by B. Ponomarev titled "The International Communist Movement in Its New Stage," which appeared in the Moscow monthly periodical *Kommunist*, No. 15, October 1958.

"KOMMUNIST" ARTICLE BY PONOMAREV ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.

- I. The Socialist Camp Is Powerful and Solid, as Never Before.
- II. New Profound Shocks in the Capitalist World.
- III. Some Problems of the Communist and Workers' Movement.

INTRODUCTION

The Communists of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people, and the entire international Communist movement are observing widely the first anniversary of the Moscow Conferences of the Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties. These conferences were a significant event in the history of the Communist and workers' movement and demonstrated its unity and loyalty to Marxism-Leninism. The declaration of the Conference of the Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries and the Peace Manifesto, signed by representatives of 64 Communist and workers' parties are militant programs for the Communist and workers' movement, which throw the light of Marxism-Leninism on the most important problems of modern times and indicate ways to solve these problems successfully.

"The work of the Conferences of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in November 1957 and their decisions," noted the Plenum of the Central Committee CPSU, meeting in December 1957, "represents a very great achievement in the world Communist movement. These conferences

demonstrated convincingly the future unity of the socialist camp and the whole international Communist movement on the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism. The working out and the declaration of the very important tasks facing Communists in the struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism in the present stage of their peaceful history, the consolidation of the whole international Communist movement, and the subsequent strengthening of the ties between the Communist parties are the most important goals of the conferences."

The decisions of the conferences were approved by all the fraternal parties. The resolutions of the congresses of the Communist parties and the Central Committees emphasize that the Moscow Conferences laid a firm foundation for new victories in the Communist movement. The resolutions of the Second Session of the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China state the following: "The declaration laid the ideological basis for the solidarity of the Communist parties of various countries and strengthened the unity of the socialist camp, led by the Soviet Union. This is a program that has ushered in a new stage in the international Communist movement." This is a stage in the continual strengthening and development of the peaceful socialist system and the unprecedented triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideals.

This year marked the further rise of the forces of ascending socialism and the extended fall and decay of capitalism.

The stepup in the growth of social processes characterizes the present stage. It proceeds along two opposite lines. The countries of the peaceful socialist system are moving more swiftly toward the creation of socialism and Communism. The decay and fall of capitalism, the extension of capitalism's general crisis, and the intensification of all the differences of the capitalist regime are taking place faster than previously. This is reflected in the great class conflicts within capitalist systems and in the conflicts between the forces of peace and socialism and the forces of war and imperialist reaction.

The theoretical analysis of the contemporary international development and the conclusions drawn from this analysis given in the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and in the documents of the Moscow conferences are fully confirmed by facts.

The ideas of the Moscow conferences assisted in further rallying the international Communist movement, in improving the level of the ideological and organizational work of the Communist parties, and in consolidating Communist parties' international ties. Guarding the purity of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the Communist and workers' parties organized an active large-scale struggle against revisionism and dealt it a number of shattering blows.

The international Communist movement, inspired by the Marxist-Leninist ideas of the Moscow conferences, is confidently advancing forward while preparing for great new victories of the working class.

* * * * *

Very important processes are taking place in the Latin American countries. For a long time, the U.S. imperialists have regarded Latin America as a sphere for supplementing their capital, as a strategic rear area in the preparation for a new world war. "The policy of the U.S.," testifies a deputy of the Peruvian Congress, "was always directed in such a manner as to maintain Latin American economy in a state of dependency and to exploit these countries as its own backyard so that they are bound to serve toward the fulfillment of U.S. interests."

The U.S. monopolies seized the enterprises which are extracting the basic natural resources of Latin America. The plundering of the resources of Latin American countries and the exploitation of their people by the U.S. monopolies have attained monstrous proportions. According to the statistics provided by the U.N., in 1946-1954, the U.S. monopolies realized a profit of 3.17 dollars for every dollar invested in Latin America.

Having seized the wealth of the nations of Latin America, the monopolies of the U.S. are trying with all their strength to repress the movement against the economic exploitation and political oppression of the people of these countries by North American imperialism.

However, now the people of Latin America are all the more decisively increasing the struggle to defend their national wealth and democratic freedoms. Latin America is a seething volcano. As in one country, so in another country, outbursts are taking place which are sweeping away reactionary regimes and are loosening the nooses which the monopolies of the U.S. had thrown on their economy.

In May 1957, as a result of the rebellion of the people of Colombia, the henchmen of the U.S. monopolies, Dictator Pinilla, was overthrown. Extremely

characteristic events occurred in Venezuela. In 1957, on the initiative of the progressive patriotic forces in Venezuela, the "Patriotic Junta" was established to fight against the bloody regime of Jimenez. The representatives of the bourgeois parties, Democratic Action, the Social-Christian Party, and the Republican-Democratic Union participated in the "Junta." Having rallied the masses, it called a general strike for 21 January 1958, which later turned into an armed revolt. As a result of the participation of the working class and students, several groups of the national bourgeoisie and a part of the army of the government of Jimenez were deposed.

The forces which are working to strengthen national independencies and democracy and to liberate the economy of these countries from the domination of the monopolies of the U.S. are growing in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and other countries. The strength of these forces was shown by the failure of reactionary plans and of the reactionary candidates in the general elections in Argentina. There was established the Front of People's Action, which merged the national and anti-imperialistic forces of Chile: the Communist, socialist, and democratic parties and the labor party. A People's Front was organized in Brazil.

An important characteristic of the current stage of the liberation struggle in Latin America is the continually increasing role of the working class. That is, the participation of the working class imparts to the national liberation movement in Latin America a clearly marked antiimperialistic character. Earlier, when the question of state power was decided on the bases of armies and by feudal-comprador circles, one dictator was replaced by another dictator. Thanks to the participation of the masses, and mainly the working class, the overthrown military dictators were replaced by bourgeois-parliamentary regimes offering the people the well-known democratic freedoms.

Under the pressure of the masses, many Latin American countries began more sharply than ever to demand that the U.S. look into the character of the economic relations and establish just prices on goods exported from Latin America so as to protect national resources from encroachment by U.S. monopolies. The Brazilian Congress passed a law nationalizing the reserves of atomic materials and prohibiting their export from the country and canceling a secret agreement with the U.S. regarding this matter.

The conflicts between the U.S. and Latin American countries were increased in connection with the crisis which started in the U.S. Seeking to get out of crises, the U.S. raised the tariff on products exported by the Latin American countries and began to dump its own surplus products on the market at such low prices that a great deal of damage was done to the economy of the Latin American countries. To repulse North American imperialism, the Latin American countries are taking several measures to strengthen mutual relations and unity. The attempts of the U.S. to involve the Latin American countries in a military bloc, to create the so-called South Atlantic Pact, have failed.

The U.S. still holds strong positions in the Latin American nations. But its prestige grows weaker every day. The Latin American people want to handle their natural resources themselves and regulate their lives without interference from outsiders. The fight for these ideals is spreading everywhere and has already borne its first fruit.

Another important process is taking place side by side with the liberation from colonial and semicolonial dependence—the liberation of the people from the old slavish ideology which imperialism cultivated. The growth of national consciousness is taking place both in the nations which are throwing off the foreign yoke and in the countries fighting against the colonizers. The Conference for Solidarity of Asian and African Countries in Canada and the Afro-Asian Writers Conference held in Tashkent pointed this out very clearly.

* * * * *

In recent years, the influence of the Communist parties in the countries of Latin America, especially Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Cuba, Venezuela, and Colombia, has been growing rapidly. This is the result of selfless struggle of Communists for the development of the national liberation and democratic movement. Since the end of 1957, 15,000 persons have joined the Communist Party of Argentina and about 1,500 persons the Communist Party of Uruguay. The Communist Party of Venezuela emerged from underground and became an important political force in the country. Its numbers have risen to 20,000. The creation of a limited Trade-Union Center of Chilean Workers and a Popular Front of Chile which includes all leftist parties is a great achievement for the Communist Party of Chile. The authority of the Communist parties has grown so much and their role in the national liberation movement is so great that governing circles

in Latin America have been compelled by popular pressures to change laws banning the Communist Party, or to actually permit them to emerge from the underground.

The Communist parties of Latin American countries ever more closely coordinate their activities in the struggle against the common enemy of the Latin American peoples—U.S. imperialism. This contributes to the further activation of the activities of the 21 Latin American Communist parties counting in their ranks over 360,000 Communists.

In the light of these facts, it is quite obvious how deceitful and awkward is the noisy new campaign of imperialist propaganda on "the crisis of Communism." The enemy, citing the situation which has arisen in certain European Communist parties and the fact that several of them have received fewer votes in elections, attempts to show that the entire Communist movement is allegedly in the process of being weakened. But the enemies are passing off the desired for the real.

The revolutionary movement is of a universal nature. Its main support is the socialist camp. The great successes of the socialist camp are the successes of international Communism.

Now when the entire world capitalist system is ripe for socialist transformation, the question arises once again of the development of the world revolutionary workers' movement. Now this movement is developing on a much wider front than previously, and new centers of the revolutionary movement are constantly being created.

It is also characteristic that if the revolutionary workers' movement does not for the time being meet with such great success in certain regions of the world as it has had recently, then this movement will grow up quickly in other regions of the world. Whereas in certain old capitalistic countries—in countries of so-called classical capitalism—the bourgeoisie and its right-socialist accomplices succeed for the time being in deceiving part of the toilers, including the workers, then in other countries, particularly in countries of the East and Latin America, and a number of * * *

Mr. SOURWINE. I show you, Mr. Kornfeder, an article from World Marxist Review written by Rodney Arismendi. Is this also a part of the documentation to which you refer?

And, while showing that to the witness, I will ask Mr. Mandel to explain what the World Marxist Review is.

Mr. MANDEL. World Marxist Review is a current magazine published by the Communists and Workers Parties of the World.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. This is an article which contains the main pieces for this so-called New Deal revolution technique.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who the author of that article is?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, I know him by reputation. I don't know him personally.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is his reputation?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, he is a known Communist theoretician.

Mr. SOURWINE. May I ask that this also go in the record?

Senator KEATING. It will be received.

(The excerpt from World Marxist Review follows:)

[World Marxist Review, May 1959]

ON THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE IN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

(A Study of the Liberation Movement in Latin America)

Rodney Arismendi

* * * * *

Of the many themes confronting the researcher and the political leader, none, perhaps, is more urgent or topical than that of defining the relation between the strategy and the tactics of the proletariat in the Latin American revolution. * * *

* * * * *

We have in view of the role of the bourgeoisie in Latin America, the possibilities of the national bourgeoisie participating in the patriotic struggle and the peculiarities of this participation, as well as the attitude of the proletariat and the masses towards the conciliatory big bourgeoisie. By the latter we mean those economically powerful groups of the bourgeoisie who, although they have not sold themselves to imperialism, nevertheless maintain connections with it and, despite frequent clashes, try to come to terms, first and foremost, with the U.S. monopolies and diplomats to the detriment of their own people and country.

The national bourgeoisie undoubtedly vacillate, that is to say, are conciliatory; but their national interests are more clearly defined, while their antagonisms with imperialism go deeper and, hence, predominate. In the main, the concept of "national bourgeoisie" coincides with that of the middle, chiefly industrial, bourgeoisie.

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Two events at the beginning of 1959 were New Year's gifts for Wall Street—the launching of the Soviet space rocket—irrefutable proof of the socialist world's strategic, scientific and technological superiority over capitalism; and the triumph of the Cuban patriots who, in Martí's* words, under the very nose of the monster, announced that a new phase had begun in the struggle on the continent. For the first time in many years, with the possible exception of Guatemala in the last act of her tragedy, the anti-imperialist flag flies over a government palace in Latin America. And although the rising tide has not reached the same level everywhere, can anyone doubt that the Cuban events will have a torrential impact on Latin American countries?

* * * * *

The foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, being more dynamic and elastic, made headway, especially after the XXth Congress of the CPSU, in the sphere of easing international tension; moreover, generous proposals have been made to deliver industrial equipment and establish broad trade relations on the principle of equality with Latin America. ***

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Consequently, the cry for trade with the Soviet Union and all the socialist states, a cry that springs from the general interests of the Latin American countries, is becoming, strange though this may appear at first glance, one of the most insistent demands on the continent. The constantly growing trade with the socialist camp eloquently attests to this. Yet the results of this trade fall far short of what they could be, if we bear in mind the benefits our countries derive from it and the enormous losses they suffer from the unequal trade forced upon us by imperialism

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II. SOME PROBLEMS OF THEORY AND PRACTICE UNDER DISCUSSION IN LATIN AMERICA

The role of the national bourgeoisie is of course determined by the character of our countries. Lenin's point about the differences between a revolution in an imperialist country and one in a country dependent upon imperialism fully retains its validity. The imperialist yoke, particularly North American, and the need for a solution of the democratic tasks of the revolution, primarily the agrarian problem, turns the national bourgeoisie into one of the factors of the revolution, enabling it to participate in the democratic front of national liberation. One would think that there is no difference of opinion on this point.

The Chinese revolution was a classical example of this, just as Lenin's tactics before 1905 provide the basis for the contemporary Marxist teaching on the participation by and the leading role of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Here, truly, we have a reliable compass.

* * * * *

*** The epic events in Cuba, in themselves, and inasmuch as they reflect the deep-going processes maturing in many countries, signified a swing to the Left and have influenced the thinking and the policy of the democratic movement throughout Latin America.

This circumstance confronts the masses, not only from the viewpoint of propaganda but also of practice, with the task of establishing democratic, anti-imperialist unity. The Popular Action Front in Chile, the unity of the people in Caracas, and

* Jose Martí, outstanding Cuban revolutionary democrat of the last century.

other examples, testify to the possibilities for bringing about deeper changes and for achieving closer concerted action throughout Latin America. * * *

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Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Kornfeder, do you know in person or by reputation Alfonso Sanchez Madariaga?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I did not hear what you said.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know in person or by reputation Alfonso Sanchez Madariaga?

Mr. KORNFEDER. I know him by reputation. I don't know him personally.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I offer for the record a statement by Alfonso Sanchez Madariaga.

I will ask the witness of his reputation. What do you know of Mr. Madariaga's reputation?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, he is one of the principal leaders in Latin American activities, as far as I know.

Senator KEATING. In Communist activities?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. He is an anti-Communist, isn't he?

Mr. KORNFEDER. He may have become one.

Mr. SOURWINE. Madariaga is active in the executive committee of the World Economic Conference of Free Trade Unions, isn't he?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Let me see that name again. I didn't get it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let me give you this article and see if you can identify the man who wrote it.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, yes. You're right. You're right. However, I just don't know the individual.

Mr. SOURWINE. This article, Mr. Chairman, appeared originally in the Inter-American Labor Bulletin, a Mexican newspaper, and it amounts to an accusation of substantially what the witness has now testified to.

I ask that, not as proof of what it says, but as an illustration that similar things are being said by anti-Communists publicly, that it go in the record.

Senator KEATING. It may be received.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let the chairman see it.

Senator KEATING. I'm not sure that what it says has very much pertinence, but it will be received.

(The article referred to follows:)

[Inter-American Labor Bulletin, June 1959]

"I ACCUSE"

Statement by Alfonso Sanchez Madariaga

ORIT GENERAL SECRETARY DENOUNCES THE SCOPE OF SOVIET AGENT'S ACTIVITIES IN LATIN AMERICA

The following article on the "Aspects of the Cold War" appeared in the well known Mexico City daily, Novedades, in its edition of April 23, 1959:

"Throughout the countries of Latin America, the Soviet plot against democratic institutions, the reorganization and expansion of our economies and the normal development of the free trade union organizations is well underway and, according to the plans of its instigators, will reach its fullest development during the months of May and June."

With these words the ORIT General Secretary began his exclusive statement for Novedades on Wednesday, April 22. Mr. Alfonso Sanchez Madariaga continued as follows:

"Both the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and its inter-American branch, the ORIT, have for some time past been denouncing the plans to upset economic world stabilization in governments where democracy and freedom are fully guaranteed which have been drawn up in Moscow by the despots of the Kremlin as a fundamental part of their anti-Western strategy. The ICFTU has pointed out, in statements made by its General Secretary, its Executive Committee and at the World Economic Conference of Free Trade Unions at Geneva in March how the agents of the USSR, attempting to infiltrate in democratic institutions and in labor circles in the Americas, Asia, Africa, the Middle East and certain countries of Western Europe, try to prevent the peaceful evolution of all free countries and, in the former colonial areas, the political, social and economic development of nations which have only recently conquered their independence. We are dealing with an offensive of universal proportions which tends to undermine the political and economic bases of true democracy throughout the entire world. Such action is in keeping with Russia's attitude on Western Berlin. We are witnessing an attack similar to that which the Kremlin launched against the economic and political reconstruction of Western Europe in the Marshall Plan era. The tactics are always the same: to confuse the masses and incite them to subversion and disorder in order to hinder governmental action and dislocate the process of economic reorganization and expansion in the West. The final goal is the implantation of Communist or pro-Communist regimes under Moscow domination in as many countries as possible."

THE CONSPIRACY IN LATIN AMERICA

"In Latin America," the inter-American trade union leader added, "the conspiracy is carried out in a methodical fashion. It was revealed in Mexico, thanks, on the one hand, to the vigilant action of the free trade movement, and, on the other, to the determination of President Lopez Mateos' regime to defend our institutions and our democratic way of life. The Soviet plot against inter-American democracy, against the peaceful evolution of our economic systems and against the power and unity of the free trade unions which are the foundation and bulwark of modern democracy is gaining momentum just at the time when programs such as the inter-American Development Bank, the Latin American Common Market, the 'Panamerican Operation' of President Kubitschek, etc., are about to take shape. Antieconomic strikes are organized on the fringe of responsible trade union jurisdiction. Attempts are made at preventing the solid establishment of true democracy in countries such as Colombia, Peru, Chile and Argentina. Artificial conflicts are created in Venezuela in order to harry the activities of a constitutional government, honestly elected by the people, like that headed by President Romulo Betancourt. An offensive is launched to create confusion among Latin American workers, turning them away from the path of free trade unionism by false arguments. Caracas has been chosen as the center of these maneuvers against the ORIT and its affiliated organizations in our 21 republics, the Caribbean and Canada, covered by the liberties which now exist in the Venezuelan nation, which is a model, in this hemisphere, of civic progress from the most abject dictatorship to the finest type of democracy."

FOREIGN COMMUNIST LEADERS SET TARGETS

"In the trade union field the conspiracy began in February in Santiago de Chile at a certain so-called third regular national conference of what claims to be a national labor center but which, masked by a false neutralism, has lent itself as a focus of the Soviet plot against our liberties and against inter-Latin American economic progress. Those who participated in that meeting included such notorious international agitators as the Yugoslavians, Stane Kavic and Stane Yuznic; well-known agents of Russian imperialism in our countries such as the Uruguayans Mario Acosta and Rosario Pietroroia; the Mexican, Antonio Garcia Morena (one of Lombardo Toledano's lieutenants); the Chilean, Clotario Blest; and other professional subversionists in Latin America. Later the Russian pseudo-trade union leaders, Timofei Eremey and Minev Aleixev arrived at the capital of Chile. It was agreed at that time to intensify the grand offensive against the free trade unions of this hemisphere, against the development of our national and hemispheric programs for economic expansion and, especially, against democracy in the hemisphere. Since Mexico is at the present time one of the most stable nations in Latin America from the political and economic standpoints, and since the obvious intention was to counteract the effects of the Eisenhower-Lopez Mateos interview in Acapulco, this country was chosen as one of the

targets of the general destructive action. Now the flames are spreading throughout all of Latin America. The CTAL is distributing circulars requesting informations of an economic, political and, to a certain degree, military nature with the evident intention of transmitting such reports to the Moscovite chiefs of Mr. Lombardo Toledano. The strikes are multiplying, not to defend the legitimate interests of the workers but to weaken the democratic systems of government and the prestige of the free trade unionism leaders who, by their honest and efficient actions over the years, have shown that they know how to serve the interests of those whom they represent and, at the same time, cooperate with the other social forces and with the progressive governments to achieve a general improvement in the economic and social standards of our nations. Naturally, this destructive, anti-patriotic enterprise frequently obtains cooperation from the most reactionary of forces, the last remnants of colonialism, and the partisans of classic Creole militarism."

SOLEMN APPEAL FROM THE ORIT

"The ORIT," continued Mr. Sanchez Madariaga, "makes a solemn appeal to public opinion on this hemisphere, to the workers and to the democratic governments of the Americas on the eve of the celebration of May Day. The political, social, and economic democracy in our hemisphere must be alert. An attempt to take advantage of this Labor Day to advance the Communist conspiracy against our hemisphere one step further is planned. The city of Caracas has been selected as the site of this attempt. The conspirators who plotted in Santiago de Chile in February propose to establish in the capital of democratic Venezuela in May the bases for a new 'independent' Latin American labor center. The idea was born in Moscow. The plan is to disassociate the workers of Latin America from their brothers in the United States and Canada in order to employ them better in the service of the foreign policy of the Soviet empire. Such is, in brief, the scope of the operation. We know for a fact that neither the democratic government of Dr. Betancourt nor the authentic free trade union movement in Venezuela wish to favor this extravagant design. The hemispheric forces of free trade unionism, more united than ever before, are preparing to resist the offensive. But a clear and forceful statement must be made. My obligation as leader of the democratic trade union movement in this hemisphere is to make a public revelation of this conspiracy. No individual, no organization imbued with the ICFTU and the ORIT policy of a determined defense of the rights and interests of the workers and of public freedoms—without which trade union action is impossible—can or should lend any assistance to the Communist game which, at this moment in the cold war, on the eve of the summit conference on Berlin and Germany—constant motives for uncertainty in the post-war world—pursues the breakdown of Western societies in favor of the expansionist and imperialist policy of the Soviet Union."

Mr. SOURWINE. There is one more item to show this witness, and this an article also from the World Marxist Review on the 30th anniversary of the first conference of the Communist Parties of Latin America, by Paulino Gonzales Alberdi.

Are you familiar with Mr. Alberdi personally or by reputation?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Only by reputation.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you say whether this article represents the Communist viewpoint?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, yes, definitely. I read it, and you have here on page 54, he is here writing about a conference of Communist Parties in Latin America, and he says that the conference is "taking its stand on the Leninist thesis of the Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution," for South America.

Mr. SOURWINE. That also will be offered for the record.

Senator KEATING. It will be received.

(The document referred to follows:)

[World Marxist Review, July 1959]

**THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES
OF LATIN AMERICA**

(Paulino Gonzales Alberdi)

In June 1929 representatives of the Communist parties of Latin America assembled in Buenos Aires for the first time to discuss problems of the liberation movement in their countries.* Contacts between the parties had been extended and some experiences exchanged before this meeting took place.

Delegations from the Communist parties or groups of Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Venezuela, Guatemala, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, Uruguay and Ecuador, and representatives of the Communist International, Young Communist League International and the Communist parties of the USA and France attended.

Police action stopped the Chilean delegation headed by Elias Lafferte, the present Chairman of the Communist Party of Chile, from crossing the border, while a serious illness, which a few months later ended in his death, prevented José Carlos Mariategui, notable Communist intellectual in Peru, from being present. However, he sent his theses which were read at one of the meetings. Ill health also prevented Rodolfo Ghioldi, a leading member of the Communist Party of Argentina, from attending. The conference rendered homage to the victims of reaction, among whom were Julio Antonio Mella, leader of the Communist Party of Cuba, and Guadalupe Rodriguez, leader of the Mexican Communist Party.

The following were the main questions discussed:

The international situation of Latin America and the threat of war; anti-imperialist struggle and the tactics of the Communist parties of Latin America; activities of the Anti-Imperialist Leagues; trade unions; the peasant question; the race problem in Latin America; the Young Communist League movement; work among women; problems of Party building.

The conference made a valuable contribution to the building and development of the Latin American Communist parties. It represented a considerable step forward in coordinating their efforts and clarifying their points of view on problems which called for the application of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism with due regard to the national peculiarities of each country. No class or social section had hitherto succeeded in rallying the spokesmen of the majority of the exploited and oppressed peoples of Latin America with a view to coordinating their struggle against the oppressors, and against the foreign imperialists. This historical mission fell to the lot of the working class and its Communist vanguard.

The conference was called upon to give ideological and organizational help in building the Communist parties so that they could lead the developing anti-imperialist struggle to victory.

The workers and people could not achieve victory under the leadership of the reformist trade unions associated with imperialism through the U.S. Right-wing trade union bosses and the Amsterdam Trade Union International. The people could not do so under the leadership of the corrupt anarchist organizations, nor under the leadership of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois parties, such as the Liberals in Colombia or the Aprists in Peru, who sought to come to terms with imperialism or else placed their hopes not in the people, but in the victory of one imperialist power over another. Nor could the Right-wing Socialist leaders, who denied that imperialist rule in our countries was of a colonial character and advocated a pro-imperialist policy, lead the people to victory. Only the Communist parties could do this successfully. Only they, guided by scientific Marxist-Leninist theory, could carry on the best traditions of their people, and solve the tasks confronting them.

The Great October Socialist Revolution and the international Communist movement had a great ideological and political impact on the working people of Latin America and this was a decisive factor in the founding of the Communist parties. In some countries, Argentina for example, Marxist-Leninist literature such as V. I. Lenin's "The State and Revolution and Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," was popularized.

*As a member of the Argentine delegation the author reported at this meeting on the work of the Anti-Imperialist Leagues.

At the end of the 1920's the Communists in Latin America were not yet sufficiently experienced. It is true that the Communist parties of Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil had several years of struggle behind them and had accumulated a certain amount of organizational and ideological experience, but their links with the workers in big factories were still very weak. Reaction was delivering hard blows at the Communist parties of Chile, Cuba and Mexico. At the same time, in view of their ideology and organizational structure some of the parties could not, strictly speaking, be termed Communist parties. A number were only groups whose activities were confined to communist propaganda in trade union organizations.

STRATEGIC TASKS

At the conference the Latin American Communists began an exhaustive study of the vital problems affecting their countries. The socioeconomic structure of the Latin American countries was analyzed, and the effects of imperialist rule and of the latifundist character of agriculture exposed. In the light of the decisions adopted at the VIth Congress of the Comintern, the conference noted the typical features of the relative stabilization of capitalism and its repercussions in the Latin American countries. Capitalist "rationalization" signified greater exploitation of the working people (for instance, the saltpeter mines in Chile, the meatpacking plants in Argentina and Uruguay). Unemployment grew. The United States introduced import duties which meant that fewer raw materials were purchased from Latin America and export prices fell. The workers and peasants retaliated by strikes and other protest actions which at times took on an insurrectional character. These actions were brutally suppressed.

The Communists discussed the lessons drawn from the strike at the United Fruit Company's banana plantations in Colombia, where hundreds of strikers were killed and the United States threatened armed intervention.

In its analysis of Latin American conditions the conference stressed the fact that during the First World War light industry had developed in most of our countries. This had led to the growth of the working class and increased the role played by the national bourgeoisie. The national and petty bourgeoisie sought to win the leadership of the masses. They pursued a two-fold aim: to gain concessions for themselves from the imperialists and landowners and to prevent the rise of Communist parties, to prevent the proletariat from leading the struggle waged by the masses. With a view to achieving their aims certain petty-bourgeois parties declared themselves adherents of Marxism and friends of the Soviet Union, while at the same time they fought against the Latin American Communists.

Having won a majority vote, the industrial and petty bourgeoisie came to power in a number of countries. But they immediately capitulated to imperialism or else were overthrown by reactionary military coups. Reaction at first applied the methods used by the Italian fascists. In Chile, for example, the dictator Ibanez, by combining repression with demagogic and insignificant concessions, gained influence in the trade union movement.

Yankee imperialism's offensive against the Latin American economy and the efforts of the British imperialists to maintain their positions found expression in coups d'état, in artificially provoked conflicts and wars between the countries of Latin America. Yankee imperialism used the liberal parties to bring pressure to bear upon conservative governments associated with British imperialism and, by resorting to blackmail, obtained the concessions and government changes it wanted.

The conference demonstrated the worthlessness of the assertions that imperialism in general, and U.S. imperialism in particular, was progressive, and that it developed the economy of backward countries. It called for action against imperialism and pointed out that the revolution in the Latin American countries at that stage would not be a socialist revolution, but an agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. For the revolution to triumph, the decision stated, a broad national-liberation front under the leadership of the working class and its Communist parties was needed.

Taking its stand on the Leninist thesis of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the conference opened up broad vistas before the Communist movement in Latin America; in this respect the documents of the Communist International played an important part. It rejected the stand adopted by some of the delegates who opposed the formation of Communist parties—the political parties of the proletariat. These delegates alleged that a party built on a broader socio-political base would be able to parry the blows of reaction. The subsequent experience of such so-called "broad" parties in a number of countries demonstrated that they only isolated the class-conscious section of the workers, and assisted the seizure of the leadership of the working-class movement by the reformists.

ACTION FOR PEACE

The conference drew attention to the need for action against the imperialist war danger. In his report on this question Victorio Codovilla spoke of the tasks that, in the light of the international situation, would confront the Marxist-Leninist parties should their countries be drawn into a war against the Soviet Union, or into a war between the imperialist states.

If the imperialists provoked a war between the Latin American countries, the report stated, the Communist parties should rouse the masses against the governments responsible for the conflict, organize fraternization, linking it up with the tasks of national liberation and the movement for radical social and democratic transformations. It was at this time that the long-drawn-out war between Bolivia and Paraguay broke out: its underlying cause was the struggle between the North American and British oil trusts for the oil deposits in the Chaco region. The capitalist and landlord groups in Brazil and Argentina, with imperialist contacts, played a part in this conflict.

The young Communist groups of Bolivia and Paraguay were severely criticized for having taken an opportunist line on this war. It should be said that these groups later took steps to rectify their mistakes; for instance, the Paraguayan comrades expelled Ibarrola, one of their leaders, for his pro-imperialist policy.

The antiwar activities of the Communist parties mobilized the people and helped to force the imperialists and their satellite governments to end the Chaco war which for them had been highly profitable. Influenced by these activities, well-known workers leaders from anarchist organizations in Paraguay, Bolivia, Argentina, and other countries and some of the leaders of the petty bourgeois anti-imperialist movement joined the Communist parties.

The conference noted that the Communists acted correctly in supporting the armed uprising of the Nicaraguan patriots under the leadership of Sandino against the North American interventionists.

QUESTIONS OF TACTICS AND PARTY BUILDING

Working-class unity and the question of drawing into the anti-imperialist movement the many allies of the proletariat were discussed in detail.

The conference was in favor of forming a national-liberation front uniting the different classes under working-class and Communist Party leadership. This would guarantee success. The speeches of some comrades showed that they did not fully appreciate the need for allies, but many others criticized the underestimation of the petty and national bourgeois as possible allies of the proletariat. Eventually this question was clarified and it was decided to encourage and extend the anti-imperialist leagues to form a united anti-imperialist front.

On the trade union question the conference proclaimed enthusiastic support for the Congress which had taken place not long before in Montevideo and founded the Confederation of the Working People of Latin America. It summarized the experience of the struggle and stressed the need to organize the working class into trade unions, particularly those workers employed in the big factories and in the basic industries. The conference exposed the disruptive role of the Right-wing leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the Amsterdam Trade Union International in the Latin American working-class movement. The Communists in our countries supported militant working-class unity.

Erroneous views held by some comrades were not sufficiently criticized. They agreed that the attention of the Party should be centered on the big factories, where the proletariat was most exploited, but affirmed at the same time that the "really revolutionary classes were the agricultural laborers and the exploited landless peasants." "The workers in the cities," they declared, "by virtue of their more privileged position and their European orientation, are an easier prey to the influence of petty-bourgeois reformist and progovernment ideology or the pseudo-revolutionary demagogic of anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism." These assertions ignored the truism that the industrial proletariat is, by its very nature, the most revolutionary class in modern society. True, there were sections of artisans in the towns with a tendency towards anarchism, and privileged categories of workers with reformist sentiments. But the growth of the big factories and the shift of the masses to the Left reduced the strength of these sections. Furthermore, certain delegates wrongly characterized our large cities as "parasitic cities," forgetting that not only the parasitic landlords and big capitalists, merchant-middlemen, big officials, high-ranking officers and clericals lived there, but also the industrial proletariat, which was not an artificial product but the result of economic evolution.

An analysis was made, during the discussion on the agrarian question, of the various forms of exploitation of the peasants in Latin American countries with their remnants of feudalism (which to a large extent still obtain). The different conditions of the peasants in the various Latin American countries and of the sections of the peasantry in one and the same country were brought out. The conference advanced demands which reflected the aspirations of broad sections of the peasantry. It was proposed to organize joint action by the peasants and agricultural laborers. The experience of the peasant leagues in Mexico and the worker-peasant blocs which functioned in several countries was summarized.

During the discussion on racial discriminaton, the conference dealt with the socio-economic content of the Indian and Negro problems and criticized the theory of the racial inferiority of the Indians and Negroes. Those who, in their defense of the Indians and Negroes, reduced the problem to one of education, were also criticized.

The conference called upon the Communist parties to pay more attention to the women's movement and that of the youth, to their demands, and to help in organizing Communist youth.

Some delegations, who leaned toward spontaneity in the communist movement, asserted that the lack of a traditional background in Latin America ruled out the possibility of organizing the masses, of their being willing to pay regular dues, and so forth. The conference rejected this view and pointed out that it was precisely reliance on spontaneity and disregard of organizational questions which made for defeat. The discussion on Party building noted that democratic centralism and the system of factory branches and branches in residential areas were the main factors in the organizational work of the parties. Most of the Communist parties represented at the conference had not yet formed such branches.

The conference resolutions pointed out the inevitable deterioration in the economic situation in Latin America, a growth of social struggles and of conflicts between the imperialists, of political instability, repression and the threat of war. In this the conference proceeded from the decisions of the VIth Congress of the Communist International. Some comrades drew the wrong conclusions from this and advocated as the "task of the day" the seizure of power by the working class in alliance with the peasants. These comrades saw no difference between a big strike and the seizure of power. Worship of spontaneity resulted in neglecting the work of organizing and politically educating the masses, in underrating the importance of building strong Communist parties.

Shortly afterward, the most acute economic crisis known to capitalism set in. Carrying out its first five-year plan, the Soviet Union was in the meantime successfully building socialism. During the years of crisis and new revolutionary upsurge, the Communists of Latin America were subjected to persecution and terror. Sectarian and dogmatic tendencies grew under these difficult conditions, particularly with regard to the question of forming political alliances. In overcoming these shortcomings the Latin American Communists were greatly helped by the speeches of G. Dimitrov to the Nazi tribunal, the decisions of the VIIth Congress of the Communist International and the experience of the Popular Front in France and Spain. The experiences of the Chinese liberation movement, although it had many specific features arising out of the national peculiarities of the country, were also helpful to the Latin American Communists. Summarizing the experience of the struggles waged by the masses under working-class leadership for peace, democracy, national independence and higher living standards, the Communist International played a big part in awakening and uniting the Latin American peoples. The Communist parties, heading the struggle of the people, resisted the offensive of reaction.

Today, 30 years after the First Conference of the Communist parties of Latin America, we see clearly what a glorious path our movement has traversed. Social development has given birth to Communist parties in countries where, in the thirties, only small groups of Communists functioned. Courageously and devotedly defending the interests of the masses, upholding independence and peace, and championing the great cause of socialism, these parties are winning the confidence of the workers, peasants and other sections of the people. And they are succeeding because they are guided by Marxist-Leninist principles.

The working class in the Latin American countries is firmly stepping out onto the path charted by the Communist parties. In Argentina, for example, tens of thousands of workers formerly under Peronist influence, have joined the Communist Party. The policy of trade union and working-class unity guarantees the Party the support of the masses. The Chilean working people highly appreciate the efforts of the Communists who have done so much to build a single trade union center.

Through their consistent anti-imperialist struggle and selfless defense of the nations' interests, the Communists have attracted to their parties the most sincere patriots, people from among the nationalist and democratic sections. When Luiz Carlos Prestes and his fellow-fighters from the legendary column joined the party this was an event of great importance. Outstanding intellectuals have also joined our ranks.

Political and organizational levels differ among the Communist parties of Latin America. Nevertheless, as they point out in their documents, their influence on the masses is not yet to be measured by their numerical strength. They all note the backwardness of the work in the countryside and are taking steps to overcome this shortcoming. Our task is clear: we must speed up the growth of the Communist Party.

Latin America is today an arena of struggle against imperialism and the dictators who serve it; the Cuban victory is a graphic expression of this struggle.

The working class and peoples of Latin America have been ruled by many governments in these past few years, yet the exploitation and poverty of the masses is on the increase, inasmuch as the imperialists, particularly those of North America, are making our peoples shoulder the burden of their economic difficulties. It is noteworthy that, whereas at the First Conference of Latin American Communist Parties the delegates spoke of the demonstrations of protest against the visit to Latin America of Hoover, at that time President of the United States, the whole world today knows of the mass protest aroused by the visit of Nixon, Vice President of the United States. The strike movement has grown, particularly in Argentina, Mexico, Uruguay, Brazil, and Chile. In this way the working class is repulsing the imperialist monopolies (mainly North American) which, acting through various channels, particularly through the International Monetary Fund, are endeavoring to lower still further the working people's standard of living. Workers, peasants, students, and other sections of the population are advancing economic and political demands and fighting for independence against their chief enemy—U.S. imperialism.

The workers and other sections are beginning to understand that there is no other way to solve their pressing problems and to safeguard peace and independence than through the broad unity proposed by the Communists; they are beginning to realize that pressing problems can only be solved by way of struggle, and that the guarantee of success lies in strengthening the Communist parties. But the imperialists, the landlords and big national capitalists understand this too, and resort to all kinds of provocations and anti-communist campaigns.

Neither slander nor provocation nor even the most savage terror were able to stop the growth of the nascent Communist parties of Latin America. And there is still less reason to believe that reaction will accomplish its objects now, when the Communists have matured, and more and more people are coming under their influence.

MR. SOURWINE. Mr. Kornfeder, you mentioned Yankee imperialism, or as the Spanish say, "Imperialismo Yanqui."

Is this a Communist invention?

MR. KORNFEDER. No, no. This Yankee imperialism has been an ideological punching bag in South America long before the Communists came. The Communists just picked it up as a handy item for their purposes.

MR. SOURWINE. I think you mentioned earlier that there were some students from Latin American countries at the Lenin School when you were there. Do you know what happened to any of them? Can you name any of those students and tell us where they went and what became of them?

MR. KORNFEDER. Well, I knew all of them, but by their party names, but those that I worked with, I learned their real names.

SENATOR KEATING. Did you have a party name?

MR. KORNFEDER. Yes.

SENATOR KEATING. What was your party name?

MR. KORNFEDER. Well, in the Lenin School, my party name was John Kass.

SENATOR KEATING. K-a-s-s?

MR. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Senator KEATING. And then you took a different party name when you came to this country?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right, and another one when I went to South America.

Senator KEATING. How did you keep track of yourself?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That was a problem over the years, or it became a problem. However, anybody that comes for training at the Lenin School is ordered to take a party name while he resides in Russia.

The idea is that one should not associate the name used in the United States with the name you have over there, because that is a secret school. The Soviet Government repudiates its existence. I mean, denies the existence of the school, although they pay for everything in it, and it exists right in the middle of Moscow, and they never admitted yet the existence of any of these schools, and this is just one. There are several.

Senator KEATING. Have you been back there since?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No.

Senator KEATING. Do they always have the same first names?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No.

Senator KEATING. That is, when they take these different names?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No. In South America I was Antonio Mendez. In Moscow, I was John Kass.

Senator KEATING. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were going to tell us, at least I had asked you to tell us if there were any of the Latin American students whom you knew at the Lenin School, and you can tell us about what happened to them afterward.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, two of them went with me for Operation Colombia. Both of them had quit the party in the late thirties. There was one from Mexico whose name I don't recall.

There were two from Argentina. There were two from Bolivia. And, there were two just coming in as I was leaving from Peru and one from Chile, but I don't recall their names.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Kornfeder, what relations do the Communist Parties of Latin American countries have with Red China?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, according to the conference held in Peiping between Mao and Khrushchev, it was agreed that the Chinese Communists act as instructors for these new operational techniques in South America because they had the most experience in it and also for the reason that they are the most experienced in guerrilla warfare, both of which fit into the South American picture.

Mao's main contribution was really in developing the techniques of these so-called democratic revolutions and in developing guerrilla techniques, so they agreed that the Chinese have the necessary practical experience to operate the new strategy.

Senator KEATING. We will take a 5-minute recess.

(A brief recess was taken at this point.)

Senator KEATING. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. Kornfeder, would you give us your present address, please?

Mr. KORNFEDER. 3210 Brook Tower, Detroit, Mich.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, on the point of relations between Latin American countries and Red China, I have three exhibits to offer for the record. The first is an intercept of a broadcast in English Morse to Pyongyang concerning a meeting between Mao Tse-tung and Latin American party leaders.

Senator KEATING. It will be received.
(The document referred to follows:)

MAO MEETS LATIN AMERICAN PARTY LEADERS

(Peking, NCNA, in English Morse to Pyongyang, Mar. 4, 1959, 1130 GMT—W)

(Text): CHÉNGCHOW, Mar. 4.—Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, met leaders of fraternal parties of 12 Latin American countries on visiting China and held cordial conversations with them yesterday.

The leaders of the fraternal parties were Luis Corvalan, secretary general of the Communist Party of Chile; Pompeyo Marquez, member of the secretariat, Pedro Ortega, and Alonso Ojeda, members of the political bureau, and Guillermo Guardin, member, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela; Gilberto Vieira, secretary general, and Joaquin Moreno, member of the political bureau, of the Communist Party of Colombia; Raou Acosta, secretary general, and Jorge Del Prado, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru; Elias Munoz, member of the executive commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador; Humberto Ramirez Cardenas, member of the political commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolivia; Felipe Bezrodnik, secretary of the commission of the treasury of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina; Wilfredo Velazquez, party organizer of the provincial committee of Las Villas of the Cuban People's Socialist Party; and delegates of the Communist Party of Brazil, the Communist Party of Paraguay, the Popular Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, and the Popular Union—Communist Party—of Panama.

Teng Hsiao-ping, secretary general of the Central Committee, and Wang Chia-hsiang, member of the secretariat of the Central Committee, of the Chinese Communist Party attended the reception and took part in the conversations.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the leaders of the fraternal parties exchanged views on the current international situation. They expressed the common view that the current international situation is extremely favorable to the struggle for peace, independence, democracy, and social progress by the peoples of all countries. The reactionary forces headed by U.S. imperialism are disintegrating. The revolutionary forces and the forces of peace and democracy of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and the people all over the world are continuously surging forward. They also agreed that, provided the people of all countries maintained and continued their unity, their vigilance and their struggles, the imperialists will certainly meet with ignominious defeat if they launch an aggressive world war. The just cause of the people all over the world will certainly triumph in the end.

On the situation in Latin America, they unanimously pointed out with satisfaction that there has been an unprecedented growth in the patriotic sentiments of the people in various countries in Latin America recently and that it is an irresistible certainty of historical development that the people of all countries in Latin America will rid themselves of the control of American imperialism to achieve complete independence.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung expressed enthusiastic sympathy and support for the peoples of the countries in Latin America who have been resolutely opposing American imperialism, defending national independence, and striving for democracy and freedom. He extended heartfelt congratulations to the Cuban people on their recent victory in overthrowing the pro-U.S. despotic government.

The leaders of fraternal parties of the Latin American countries talked of the great achievements in building socialism that they have seen in China and viewed these achievements as contributing greatly to the Latin American people's struggle for independence, democracy, social progress, and peace. They expressed the sympathy and support of the peoples of Latin America for the Chinese people and thanked the Chinese Communist Party for inviting them to visit China and for their warm reception during the visit. Chairman Mao Tse-tung expressed his gratitude to the leaders of the fraternal parties of Latin America for their ardent concern over the Chinese revolution and construction.

In the talks, they unanimously considered it necessary to continue to develop the contacts between the communist parties of the countries in Latin America and the Chinese Communist Party for the sake of world peace, national independence, for democracy and social progress, thus contributing to developing the friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the Latin American countries and the people of China.

VISITS TO PEKING, SHANGHAI

Peking, NCNA, in English Morse to Pyongyang, Mar. 4, 1959, 1206 GMT—W)

(Text): CHENGCHOW, Mar. 4.—Delegates of fraternal parties of 12 Latin American countries left here in two groups for Peking and Shanghai by plane this morning. They arrived here from Wuhan for a visit on Mar. 2.

They were seen off at the airport by Wu Chih-pu, first secretary of the Honan provincial committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Chiao Wen-fu and Li Li, members of the secretariat, and Wang Li-chih, first secretary of the Chengchow city committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and other local leaders of the Communist Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. The second is an excerpt from Pravda, February 1, 1959, pages 5 and 6, and a translation prepared by the Library of Congress Legislative Reference Section, being the text of a speech by Comrade Severo Aguirre, People's Socialist Party of Cuba.

Senator KEATING. It will be received.

(The document referred to follows:)

[Translation—Pravda, Feb. 1, 1959, pp. 5-6]

SPEECH OF COMRADE SEVERO AGUIRRE, PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST PARTY OF CUBA

Dear Comrades. Permit me, in the name of the National Committee of the People's Socialist Party of Cuba and its General Secretary, Comrade Blas Roca, and likewise in the name of the fighting Cuban people, which has overthrown the bloody dictatorship of Batista and which has struck a great blow against imperialism, to transmit to the Central Committee and the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union warm brotherly greetings. [Loud applause.]

Cuba is located far from the borders of the Soviet Union, but the Cuban people with deep interest and true admiration are observing the wonderful successes of constructive and creative work of the great Soviet people. During the gloomy days which Cuba has lived through, the three Soviet Sputniks brought happiness and hope to our people. Now with still more joy we are greeting the launching of the cosmic rocket—this symbol of the final superiority of Soviet science—because this new great victory over the forces of imperialist obscurantism has coincided with the great victory of the Cuban people over the imperialist oppressors.

The great victories of the Soviet people which have been carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Central Committee are not only an inspiration but are a real aid to peoples, such as that of Cuba, which are fighting against imperialist aggression and represent a great contribution to the cause of peace and socialism.

Comrades. The Cuban people after seven years of hard struggle has overthrown the contemptible and bloody clique of Batista, this gang of criminals and robbers, which seized power on March 10, 1952, was a result of a military revolution prepared in the State Department of the United States.

The American imperialists placed the bloody dictator Batista in power in order to deprive the workers of their economic and social gains and to convert our country into an American colony and to tie it to the military chariot of imperialism. Carrying out the orders of his imperialist bosses, Batista established a bloody dictatorship. Raising the tattered Fascist banner of anti-Communism, he suppressed and persecuted with brutal fury the People's Socialist Party and broke up democratic and popular organizations. He converted the army, operating under the observation of American "missions", into units designed to inflict violence upon the population.

It is difficult to describe everything which our people endured during the years of tyranny. It is impossible to count all the men who were arrested, tortured, or killed, the women who were beaten and violated, or the children who were taken as hostages and killed because their parents were revolutionaries or simply oppositionists. It is also impossible to tell here about the beatings and tortures which the political prisoners underwent in the torture chambers and prisons, the atrocities carried out by the aircraft delivered to Batista by the American monopolies in order to bomb and shoot from the air the peaceful population of the countryside, towns, and cities which were in the hands of the rebellious patriots. After having sold the national sovereignty of Cuba, Batista, the sadist and criminal, killed and tortured over 20,000 persons.

One can imagine how difficult was the battle of our party and of all Cuban patriots. But, inspired by the victorious theory of Marxism-Leninism, the

Cuban Communists never lost faith in the people, and despite tremendous obstacles, always found suitable and real forms of action for uniting the revolutionary forces of the Cuban people from below in the battle against tyranny and imperialism. [Applause.]

The People's Socialist Party, together with the Organization of Socialist Youth, operating in the deepest underground and subjected to constant persecution, at the cost of the lives of many of its leaders and members, established close ties with the masses of workers, peasants, and student masses and with the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie. It fought for the unity of all the opposition forces and supported any form of action of the masses against the dictatorship. Even while underground, it was preparing for battle.

The experience of our party shows that even in the underground in the most difficult conditions of illegal existence, the party must and can carry out a successful preparation for the battle against tyranny. [Applause.]

When, 25 months ago, the rebel units under the command of Fidel Castro and other patriots and fighters against imperialism began their armed battle, our party considered it its first duty to aid the rebels, giving them the correct orientation and giving them the support of the popular masses. The party headed the battle of the peasants for land and thereby increased its authority among the peasantry.

Our party took an active part in the rebel movement as long as it maintained the character of a partisan struggle and did not have anything in common with putschism and individual terrorism. It appealed to the popular masses to support Fidel Castro in every way, and with the means of its disposal, it unmasked the brutal repressions of the government against the partisans and the peasant population of the partisan areas. Participating in the armed battle, the Communists conducted themselves nobly, they were in the first ranks and were able to win the love and respect of their comrades in battle.

As a result of the armed struggle, Batista dictatorship was overthrown and then the military junta was liquidated—with the aid of which the ruling circles of the United States were attempting to save the old reactionary regime from complete defeat.

In theses just published by the National Committee of our party it is said: "The tyranny was overthrown because the entire people turned against it and took active participation in the struggle in all fields making use of every possible method: armed struggle, strikes, general strikes, the patriotic movement, the action of the workers and peasant masses, propaganda and agitation, boycotts of the fake elections, and struggle against the agents of tyranny in various organizations."

At the present time power has passed into the hands of the rebel forces, headed by Fidel Castro and his organization "the twenty-sixth of July," of which about 90 percent consists of peasants, agricultural and city workers, and students representing various revolutionary trends. This is a new power. The entire old government and military system has been smashed. There do not remain either authorities nor organized forces which would represent the old regime. The newly created armed forces are completely under the control of the rebels. The leading military and government positions are occupied by persons who have been nominated by the partisans or approved by them. The old army no longer exists.

Upon the proposal of the leader of the movement, Fidel Castro, there was established a provisional government. This government enjoys such strong support both within the country and abroad that the government of Washington has been forced to reckon with its existence. The country is being liberated from oppression, it is winning freedom, and is becoming independent.

Comrades. It is difficult to describe to you what a revolutionary upsurge has now taken the masses of the Cuban people who have risen in defense of their country and which has smashed the political rule of foreign imperialism.

What have the events in Cuba shown? The events in Cuba, like in Venezuela, have refuted the claims of those who try to prove that, because of the closeness to the United States, a successful battle is impossible in the Latin American countries. When the entire people rises in an armed struggle and takes the fate of the country into its hands, victory is assured. [Applause.]

Small Cuba has defeated the forces of reaction and imperialism. This victory was possible because of the new distribution of forces on the international scene, to the growth of the camp of socialism and the successful struggle of the oppressed peoples of Asia and Africa. [Applause.]

Latin America, whose peoples are successfully carrying out their struggle for political and economic independence, have ceased to be a reserve of United States imperialism.

However, the imperialists, who are still maintaining their domination over the economy of Cuba, do not wish to reconcile themselves with reality and are continuing to attack the Cuban revolution. In the first place, they have unleashed a furious press campaign against Fidel Castro in connection with his just condemnation of a group of the chief criminals of the Batista regime. American propaganda is trying to deceive public opinion with the aim of weakening the wide support given to our revolution by the public and to conceal the aggressive intentions of the imperialists in regard to Cuba.

In the second place the imperialists are threatening Cuba with an economic boycott and even military intervention. With these threats they are putting pressure on the less reliable groups in the new government, attempting to force them to retreat and surrender. At the same time they are carrying out an anti-Communist campaign with the aim of dividing the people, isolating the left parties, of regaining political domination and preserving their economic privileges. Consequently, the main task of the People's Socialist Party is the defense of the achievements of the revolution and its further development.

Comrades—Permit me, from this historic platform, to express my gratitude to all the communist and workers' parties of the world for their solidarity in the cause of the Cuban people. [Loud applause.] However, all of you, who are people with great experience, can understand that the battle of the Cuban people has not been finished and after this first stage of battle it has entered a new phase which is even more difficult and dangerous. And we must say to you all with great clarity that we need even more assistance from the public of the world.

Permit me to wish you, comrades, success in your work at this Congress and to express confidence in the victorious completion of the gigantic seven-year plan. [Loud applause. All rise.]

(Translated by: Boris I. Gorokhoff, Library of Congress, July 29, 1959.)

MR. SOURWINE. The third is another intercept from the Peiping broadcast in English Morse to Pyongyang on August 4, 1959, with regard to a message from the all-China Federation of Trade Unions, supporting a land reform program.

SENATOR KEATING. It will be received.

(The document referred to follows:)

ACFTU MESSAGE BACKS CUBAN LAND REFORM

(Peiping, NCNA, In English Morse to Pyongyang, Aug. 4, 1959, 1324 GMT—W)

(Text:) PEIPING, August 4.—Chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions Liu Ning-i today cabled the Confederacion de Trabajadores de Cuba, in support of the Cuban agrarian reform.

"The Chinese workers from their own experiences realize the necessity and justification of the present Cuban agrarian reform. We therefore give hearty support to the struggles for the realization of the agrarian reform by the Cuban workers, peasants, and the entire Cuban people," the cable stated. "Irresistible is the will of the Cuban people to eliminate feudalism, raise the living standards of the urban and rural laboring people, bring about national industrialization, and safeguard national independence," the cable said.

"We are deeply convinced that the Cuban people, who are rallying closely around the revolutionary government, are bound to achieve final victory. The obstructions and sabotage of the U.S. imperialists and reactionaries are bound to meet with ignominious failure," the cable continued.

"The Chinese working class will continue to give resolute support to each and every struggle of the Cuban people for social progress, safeguarding national independence and world peace," the cable concluded.

CUBAN PSP LEADER HAILS CPR'S PROGRESS

(Peking, NCNA, radioteletype in English to West and North Europe, Aug. 4, 1959, 1331 GMT—W)

(Text:) HAVANA, Aug. 2.—Cuba has aroused great attention among progressive peoples throughout the world, said Juan Marinello, chairman of the Cuban People's Socialist Party, yesterday in giving his impressions of his visit to socialist countries.

He returned to Cuba on July 28 after visiting the Soviet Union, Poland, China, and Czechoslovakia. He said that the warm reception accorded him in his lengthy journey to the socialist countries showed the confidence those peoples

had in the Cuban people and his party. Peoples in the countries he visited understood very well that a victory over U.S. imperialism, the major enemy of all peoples, was a triumph of all and a guarantee of a just and happy life in the future, he added.

Referring to his impressions of China, Marinello said that the changes that had taken place in this vast Asian country could not be described in even 100 talks. He said that the advance of China's revolution was a great spectacle in the current world. In comparison to the past situation of misery and oppression caused by the imperialists in the great nation, he said, China had within a short time gained incomparable progress.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, I want to ask you, Mr. Kornfeder, is the People's Socialist Party of Cuba the Communist Party of Cuba?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes, that is the Communist Party of Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Kornfeder, during the testimony that he gave before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee considering his nomination as Secretary of State in January of 1953, noting the striking similarity between Latin American and pre-Communist China to which you refer, Mr. John Foster Dulles said:

I have the feeling that conditions in Latin America are somewhat comparable to conditions as they were in China in the mid-1930's, when the Communist movement was getting started. They, the Reds, were beginning to develop a hatred of the Americans and British, but we didn't do anything adequate about it. It went on and on and then finally it came to a climax in 1949. Well, if we don't look out, we'll wake up some morning and read in the newspapers that there happened in South America the same kind of thing that happened in China in 1949.

Now, I would like to ask your interpretation of this: How could what Mr. Dulles predicted come about? Could it be done on a continentwide basis in Latin America, or would it have to be a country-by-country proposition in Latin America?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, as far as tactical operation, it would have to be country by country, but as to general strategic pattern, the same pattern would hold good for the whole continent—that is, the same strategy would be applied throughout, but each country—well, circumstances, and so on, being slightly different, the tactics would have, of course, to fit the local situation, correspond to the local situation.

Senator KEATING. What should we do to counter this movement in Latin America?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, Senator, that is a subject that I have been doing some thinking about.

To start with, you have to have people that understand it, and that requires a concentration on the problem. It cannot be handled piecemeal. Let's say the Communists are throwing something at us and we resist what they throw at us. This is a type of enemy that doesn't operate that way, and the countertactic would have to take into consideration the operational techniques of the enemy. You have to train people for this type of combat. This is a new type of warfare, of conquering countries from within.

It must be recognized by those that become the victims of it that it is a new method, and you have to appraise it with sufficient seriousness to make an effort against it, and that effort would have to be on a large, as large a scale as the enemy's effort. You cannot do it without—no war can be conducted without trained officer personnel, and this is a war. You have to train people for it, and you can't do without it.

Well, this, of course, is one angle, and if you get that far and begin to wrestle with the problem of a continent, you probably will have to modify your policy in various respects as compared to the present one, but that day will come when you will handle the thing as a major operation.

The Communists have things pretty much their own way at the present time. There is just no organized, systematic counterforce against it, and if that continues they will eventually take over South America and, of course, the impact of that on the other continents is going to be terrific because in other continents, to them America is America, and if the Communists begin to take pieces out of it, well, the impact is that the big giant which is holding on to a free society is going to pieces itself, and it is a very serious situation.

They, of course, are concentrating on South America, both for their ulterior objective as well as for their present strategy. If they could create a situation in South America serious enough, and compel the United States to orientate on its own backyard and withdraw its concentration on Europe or Asia, if that ever happens, that is exactly what they need to complete their conquest of those two continents.

They are working with tremendous concentration on Latin America now from every facet, whether commercial, diplomatic or political, psychological, and every way they think of, and their main strategy of approach is also motivated by the fact that they are now concentrating with priority on Latin America, not so much for Latin America's sake, but to hit the United States with it.

It is a tremendous thing which, well, I hope sooner or later will be appraised in the light of its importance. I am trying to help along in that proposition.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Kornfeder, can you relate the overall Communist operational pattern in South America as you know it, with current events in Cuba?

Tell us, for instance, what differences there are between the Castro regime and a typically Communist regime.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, in my opinion, Castro is carrying out fairly closely, let us say, anywhere from 80 to 90 percent of the Communist—present Communist pattern in America, which calls for a so-called New Deal revolution, a revolution which, in many of its essentials, is a pro-Communist pattern; but, it is not exactly like—does not exactly look like a Communist revolution, and the Communist machine throughout Latin America is in full support of him.

Mr. SOURWINE. But Mr. Castro's method of control of his party, his organization, is not the same as the Communist method, is it?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the difference? Explain it for us.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, Castro, in my opinion, is one of those fellow travelers who is not easily harnessed to their customary patterns of operations. For example, his entire July 26 movement does not operate organizationally the same way as the Communists.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do you mean, it does not operate organizationally the same as the Communists?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, the Communist pattern of operations is through committees. They create committees, they exert their controls through committees. Castro thus far has been ignoring entirely the established Communist Party pattern of operating through the

committee system and appointing his officials purely as individuals appointed by him.

The only place where there is a committee system thus far in Cuba is in the trade unions, and in the trade unions the committee system had been there before he came.

Well, he may have assigned the trade unions to the Communists, but thus far they have not succeeded to establish control over them, but this is the only place where there is a committee system—in his July 26 movement, in the agricultural regions or everywhere else; Fidel Castro operates without the committee system, just by appointing individuals.

Mr. SOURWINE. So, this is a difference between the situation in Cuba and the typical Communist situation?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, are there any patterns of activity in Cuba which are typical of Communist operations on a worldwide basis?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many such patterns are there?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, I would cite at least three.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us about the three.

Mr. KORNFEDER. The guerrilla warfare. Now, the difference between Communist guerrilla warfare and other guerrilla warfare is that the Communists combine guerrilla warfare with political warfare. Their guerrilla warfare is just, as it were, a feature of the political warfare.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say this situation exists in Cuba?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The same; that technique was operated in Cuba while Castro was in the mountains.

Mr. SOURWINE. What's the second point?

Mr. KORNFEDER. It was due in collusion with the Communist Party machine, although not controlled in the usual way by the Communist Party machine.

The second, after they came to power, is the liquidation of the opposition. That is a standard Communist pattern. The first thing you must do after you come to power is to liquidate systematically the opposition, by arresting the individuals that you have reason to fear, by taking over organizations that the opposition may control, or dissolving such organizations.

Well, that pattern has been evident also in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Communists don't have any monopoly on this particular kind of an operation, do they?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Beg your pardon?

Mr. SOURWINE. They are not the only ones who, on coming into power, liquidate the opposition?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No. The other totalitarians do the same thing, the Fascists, the Nazis.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your third pattern?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The third pattern, where there is a very close similarity, is the peasant question.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean the land distribution?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The land distribution.

Land distribution—of course, originally land distribution was a democratic measure, it has been done in many countries long before communism was heard from, but when the Communists use it, it is

not an honest reform; that is, they simply use it to ride into power, and once they are entrenched they take the land away. They sort of play the game of Indian-givers, giving something and then taking it away.

Now, the pattern that Castro has been playing is similar to those of the Communists, because his land reform, which I studied quite thoroughly, does, and proposes to do, a tremendous job in expropriating, but the land distribution that he prescribes is very similar to that of the Communists because he does not give the land, does not distribute the land to be owned fully by the peasants. He gives it to them, and at the same time tells them that they cannot sell it, they cannot buy land, they cannot mortgage it.

Well, that is very similar to the Communist method except that the Communist method right at the beginning declares the land nationalized and they hand it out to the peasants just for working, but they don't truly own it; the state owns it.

Senator KEATING. Can they under the Cuban land reform transfer the land at will or dispose of it?

Mr. KORNFEDER. The state is the only one that can acquire additional land. The peasants cannot sell it, and they cannot buy it, only the state, and what they call the cooperative system or collectives can do such things by permission of the authority created under this law, which is an authority entirely under the control of Castro who, on the basis of this law, is the absolute boss of it.

So, you have a situation where the land is not distributed fully, it is only distributed partly.

Senator KEATING. In other words, the peasants are given the use of a parcel of land, you might say.

Mr. KORNFEDER. That's right.

Mr. SOURWINE. And virtually required to work it, are they not?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Beg your pardon?

Mr. SOURWINE. They are virtually required to work that land?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. The state may take it from them if they they don't work it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You can't give it out to a tenant to farm, you can't sell it, can't borrow on it; you can only work it?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That is why the Communist pattern of land distribution is there in principle.

Mr. SOURWINE. There is one difference. In Russia, the piece of land where a man is working, he is not able to convey that to his children, is he?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Well, they work the same land.

Mr. SOURWINE. They can, but it depends entirely on the state as to whether they can tell them to do it or not.

Mr. KORNFEDER. It depends on the state, but the state doesn't bother them.

Mr. SOURWINE. In Cuba, the right to work the land descends to the eldest son, under the agrarian reform.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Under Castro not everybody can inherit, only one person can inherit out of the family, and it may not be the eldest son, it may be anyone to whom the one that now has the title designates it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Sort of serfdom by primogeniture—

Senator KEATING. Not necessarily that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Not necessarily the eldest child, but a child.

Senator KEATING. That is my understanding from the witness.

Mr. KORNFEDER. The state becomes the latifundios.

Now, the Communists have been carrying on tremendous propaganda against latifundios, that is the plantation system. The State takes over that function now and calls it by a new name, cooperatives, and well, social benefit measures or whatever good names they find to baptize an old institution with new names.

And, the new boss, of course, is a worse boss because, as John L. Lewis at one time said, "I prefer a boss who is not a jail warden at the same time."

Now, in this case the State, which has political and police power, and so on and so forth, becomes the boss. Under this system, the private sector, that is, the land distributed to the peasants, can shrink continually, whereas the State sector—that is the way the law is set up—can grow continuously so that eventually it will be a state-owned agriculture, if they want to make it so, under this law.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, perhaps you would wish inserted in the record at this time the text of the agrarian reform law of Cuba, from the Official Gazette of Havana, with a Library of Congress translation.

Senator KEATING. It will be received.

(Copy of "Agrarian Reform Law of Cuba," dated June 3, 1959, follows:)

AGRARIAN REFORM LAW OF CUBA

(Gaceta Oficial, Habana, Extr. issue No. 7, June 3, 1959)

CHAPTER I—OF LANDS IN GENERAL

Article 1. Large landed estates (*latifundios*) are herewith proscribed. The maximum extension of land which may be owned by a natural or a juridical person shall be thirty caballerías [one caballería equal to 33½ acres]. Lands owned by a natural or juridical person exceeding this limitation shall be expropriated for distribution among the landless peasants and agricultural workers.

Article 2. Exceptions from the provisions of the preceding article shall be made with respect to the following lands:

(a) Areas sown to sugar cane, the production of which is not less than the national average, plus 50 percent.

(b) Cattle raising tracts which are adequate for the minimum feeding of cattle per *caballería* as determined by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, taking into consideration the racial category, time of development, percentage of births, regulations of feeding, percentage of production of beef in the case of beef cattle, or of milk, in the case of cattle of that category. The possibilities of the producing area will be computed by means of physical analysis, chemical analysis of the soil, the moisture present therein and the rain charts.

(c) Areas sown to rice which normally average not less than 50 percent of the national average production of the variety in question, in the opinion of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform.

(d) Areas dedicated to one or more crops or to cattle raising, with or without industrial activity, for the effective exploitation and reasonable economic production of which it is necessary to maintain an area of land greater than that established as the maximum limit in Article 1 of this Law.

Notwithstanding the provisions above, in no case may a natural or juridical person possess lands of an extension greater than one hundred *caballerías*. In the cases in which a natural or juridical person possesses lands of an extension greater than one hundred *caballerías*, and it happens that on these areas two or more types of production concur as are described in sections (a), (b), and (c) of this article, the benefit of exemption which is established up to one hundred *caballerías* shall be decided in the manner determined by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, the remaining tracts becoming subject to the objectives of this Law.

In the cases of the crops mentioned in sections (a) and (c), the production mentioned shall be computed by taking into account the last gathered crop. The benefits of exemption shall be continued only as long as those levels of production are maintained.

In the case of the exception mentioned in section (d), the National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall determine which shall be the areas over the maximum limit of 100 *caballerías* to be subjected to the objectives of this Law, taking care that the economic unity of production is maintained and, in the case of several crops, considering the correlation among these, and between the crops and the cattle raising, as the case may be.

Article 3. Lands belonging to the Nation, the Provinces, and the Municipalities will also be subject to distribution.

Article 4. Exception with respect to provisions of Articles 1 and 3 of this Law shall be made of the following lands:

(a) Undivided areas granted in ownership to agricultural production cooperatives organized by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform for the exploitation of [public] lands of the Nation or expropriated for the purposes of this Law.

(b) Lands belonging to the Nation, the Provinces and Municipalities which have been dedicated or may be dedicated to public organizations or of general service to the community.

(c) Forest lands when these have been declared to be incorporated in the forest reserves of the Nation, subject to the profits, public use or exploitation as determined by Law.

(d) Lands of rural communities destined to satisfy the purposes of social welfare, education, health and others of this nature, following a decree establishing nature by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, and then only in the extent required for these objectives.

For purposes of the determination of the maximum limit of thirty *caballerías* mentioned in Article 1, there shall not be taken into consideration the tracts necessary for industrial establishments affixed to rural estates, as well as for sugar machinery, offices and buildings; neither will urbanized zones in the interior of rural estates and those which, by resolution of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, are intended for creation of the villages or a nucleus of rural population in each Agrarian Development Zone; nor where other natural resources exist which are capable of exploitation in anticipation of the future development of the country, within the discretion of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform.

Article 5. The order of procedure for expropriation in each Agrarian Development Zone, as the case may be, and for redistribution of land shall be as follows:

First: Public (National) lands and those of private ownership on which there are cultivators in the category of tenants, subtenants, sugar planters, sharecroppers or homesteaders (tenants at will).

Second: Areas exceeding the extent of land not protected by the exceptions provided in Article 2 of this Law.

Third: Other expropriable areas.

Unless there is a resolution to the contrary by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, expropriation and distribution of lands comprised in the "Second" paragraph shall take place only when the project of land distribution contemplated in the "First" case has been completed, and the payments based on extrajudicial assessments have been made, as referred to in this Law.

Article 6. Lands of private ownership, up to the limit of thirty *caballerías* per person or corporation, shall not be object of expropriation, unless these are subject to contracts with tenants, subtenants, sugar planters, sharecroppers or occupied by homesteaders (tenants at will) who possess parcels not larger than five *caballerías*, in which cases their land shall also be subject to expropriation in accordance with the provisions of this present Law.

Article 7. The owners of lands affected, once the expropriation, adjustments and sales to tenants, subtenants, sugar planters, sublessees and homesteaders who have established themselves on the farms have been completed, may retain the remainder of the property insofar as it does not exceed the maximum extent authorized by Law.

Article 8. Lands which are not registered in the Property Registers up to October 10, 1958, shall be presumed to be lands of the State.

Article 9. State (public) lands are all those registered in its name, or recorded in the inventory of National Patrimony, or acquired under bids or under any other title, even though the titles may not have been registered in the Property Registers.

The Ministry of the Treasury shall proceed to annotate and register all the lands which, in accordance with the preceding articles, belong to the State.

Article 10. There is no limitation of action with respect to the State to recover its lands, including wastelands and those which, at the time of establishing the Republic, were transferred to it as integral property within its patrimony.

Article 11. From the date of promulgation of this Law, the making of contracts for sharecropping and any others in which payment of rent for rural estates is stipulated in the form of proportional participation in production is prohibited. This concept will not apply to contracts for exploitation of the grinding of sugar-cane.

Article 12. Commencing a year after the promulgation of the present Law, corporations which do not fulfill the following requirements may not exploit sugar plantations:

- (a) That all shares of stock shall be nominative.
- (b) That the shareholders be Cuban citizens.
- (c) That owners of said shares shall not be persons who are owners, shareholders or officers of companies dedicated to manufacture of sugar.

This period of time having elapsed, the lands owned by Corporations which do not possess the above requirements shall be expropriated for the purposes of the Law. Likewise, said Corporations shall lose their right to their grinding quotas which they had at the time of the enactment of this Law.

Article 13. Neither may natural persons exploit sugar plantations if they are owners, shareholders, or officials of enterprises dedicated to the manufacture of sugar. Lands owned by said persons on which sugar plantations are located shall be expropriated for the purposes established in the present law.

Persons who previous to their present position as owners, shareholders or officials of enterprises dedicated to sugar manufacture had been cultivators of cane for a period of less than five years, provided that they prove this fact unequivocally, and that they do not possess estates larger than thirty *caballerías*, will have a period of one year in which to liquidate their incompatibilities.

Sales of sugar plantations comprised in these cases will take place with the advance approval of the National Institute of Agricultural Reform, which will authorize them only when, in the opinion of this agency, the objectives of the Law are not being evaded.

The National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall proceed to the enforcement of this Article in the necessary time and manner to guarantee the normal continuity of production.

Article 14. Likewise, the holding and ownership is prohibited of rural lands destined for other categories of farming-livestock activities by Corporations whose shares are not nominative.

Nevertheless, Corporations constituted at the time of the promulgation of this Law, possessing lands not destined to cultivation of sugar cane may continue to exploit them, until the excess lands which they may possess have been expropriated and distributed in accordance with the provisions of this Law, without being able during this time to cede or transfer the said lands under any title to any other Corporation.

Once said excess tracts have been expropriated and distributed in accordance with the provisions of this Law, said Corporations may not continue to exploit the lands they possess unless they transform themselves into Corporations with nominative or registered stock, and their shareholders fulfill the conditions established in Article 13. If said Corporations do not make the change in the manner above mentioned, the estates owned by said Corporations shall be liable to expropriation for the purposes of this Law.

Article 15. Rural property in the future may be acquired only by Cuban citizens or corporations constituted by Cuban citizens.

Farms not larger than thirty *caballerías* are exempted from the above provisions, when, in the judgment of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, it is proper to transfer them to foreign enterprises or companies for industrial or agricultural development, which are believed to be of benefit to the development of the national economy.

In cases of transfers by inheritance of rural estates in favor of heirs who are not Cuban citizens, these shall be considered suitable for expropriation for the objectives of this Agrarian Reform, whatever may be their extent.

CHAPTER II—ON REDISTRIBUTION OF LANDS AND COMPENSATION TO OWNERS

Article 16. There is hereby established as a "living minimum" for a farm family of five persons a tract of two *caballerías* (66 $\frac{2}{3}$ acres) of fertile soil without irrigation, far from urban centers and devoted to crops of average financial production.

The National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall be in charge of regulating and issuing decrees in each case, as to what is the "living minimum" necessary, differing from the above mentioned basis, and taking into consideration the average level of annual income which is desirable for each family.

Lands comprising the "living minimum" shall enjoy the benefits of freedom from attachment or alienation referred to in Article 91 of the Fundamental Law of the Republic.

Article 17. Private lands subject to expropriation by virtue of the provisions of this Law, and national (public) lands shall be granted in areas of undivided ownership to cooperatives recognized by this Law; or they shall be distributed among the beneficiaries in parcels not larger than two *caballerías*, which property shall be received without prejudice to any adjustments which the National Institute of Agrarian Reform may make in order to determine the "living minimum" in each case.

All lands, whoever may be beneficiaries, shall pay the taxes imposed by law as their contribution to public expenses of the Nation and the Municipalities.

Article 18. Lands of private ownership cultivated by sugar planters, tenants, subtenants, sharecroppers or homesteaders, shall be granted gratuitously to their cultivators when the tract does not exceed the "living minimum." When these farmers cultivate lands of an area less than the "living minimum," then the lands necessary to complete this shall be gratuitously granted provided they are available, and provided the economic and social conditions of the region permit it.

If the lands cultivated in the cases mentioned in the preceding paragraph should exceed the "living minimum," but provided they are not more than five, the tenant, subtenant, sugar planter, sharecropper or homesteader shall receive two *caballerías* gratuitously after the expropriation is made by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, the owner being able to acquire, through forced sale, that portion of his possessions exceeding the area adjudicated gratuitously up to the limit of five *caballerías*.

Article 19. To owners of land whose area is less than the "living minimum" and who personally cultivate the soil, there shall be adjudicated also gratuitously the lands necessary to complete it, provided these are available and the economic and social conditions of the region permit it.

Article 20. Regulations to this Law shall determine the form of procedure to be followed in cases in which some lien exists on the affected lands.

Article 21. Lands of the State, cultivated by tenants, subtenants, sugar planters, sharecroppers, or homesteaders, shall be adjudicated gratuitously to these possessors when the extent does not exceed the "living minimum."

If the cultivated lands in the cases mentioned in the preceding paragraph exceed two *caballerías*, provided they are not more than five, the tenants, subtenants, sugar planters, sharecroppers or homesteaders shall receive the lands gratuitously in an area equivalent to the "living minimum," being able to acquire from the State that portion of their possessions which exceed the "living minimum" already adjudicated to them gratuitously.

Article 22. Lands which are available for distribution, in accordance with this Law, shall be distributed in the following order of preference:

- (a) Farmers who have been dispossessed from lands which they cultivated;
- (b) Farmers living in the region in which the lands are located which are subject to distribution, and who lack land or who only cultivate an area inferior to the "living minimum."

- (c) Agricultural workers who labor and customarily live on the lands subject to distribution.

- (d) Farmers of other regions, preference to be given to those of neighboring areas who lack land or who have tracts of less than the "living minimum."

- (e) Agricultural workers of other regions, preference to be given to those of neighboring areas.

- (f) Any other person who presents the corresponding application, preference to be given to those who demonstrate experience or knowledge of agricultural matters.

Article 23. Within the mentioned groups in the preceding articles, these shall be preferred:

- (a) Combatants of the Rebel Army, or their dependent relatives.

- (b) Members of the auxiliary bodies of the Rebel Army.

- (c) Victims of war or of repression by the Tyranny.

- (d) Dependent relatives of persons dead as a consequence of their participation in the revolutionary struggle against the Tyranny.

In each case the heads of families shall have priority.

Article 24. Applications for endowment of lands should be made on official forms on which are stated the information or circumstances required by the Regulations or Instructions adopted by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform.

Article 25. The owners, or possessors in concept of owners, of rural estates whose areas, either singly or combined, exceed the maximum of thirty *caballerías* fixed by Article 1 of this Law, and likewise those of farms of less area which are totally or partially used by renters, tenants, sharecroppers, or partnerships, or occupied by homesteaders (tenants at will), are obliged to present to the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, either directly or through agencies authorized for the purpose, and within a term not longer than three months computed from the date of the promulgation of this law, the following documents:

(a) An uncertified transcript of property deeds with a note as to registration in the Property Register and payment of taxes on Real Property or Transfer of Property.

(b) An uncertified copy of the Instrument constituting a charge or lien, if any.

(c) Plans of the farm or farms, or a statement as to lack of land.

(d) Detailed statement as to buildings, constructions, installations, corrals, machinery, farm equipment and fences, with description of their types.

(e) Sworn declaration before a Notary Public or Municipal Judge of the domicile of the deponent, as to contracts of lease, tenancy, sharecropping, sugar planting tenancy, as well as of the occupation of land by homesteaders (tenants at will) with respect to the farm or farms in question, with data as to terms, conditions, rentals, as well as, provided this is possible, of the crops or sowings, heads of cattle, types of pasture and approximate production figures for all aspects for the preceding five years for the corresponding farm or farms, and the income derived from the sale of products during the preceding year.

(f) Data as to what, in their judgment, are idle or semi-idle lands on the farm or farms, in question, the area of excess land in proportion to the description of the boundaries, and an estimate of the value attributed to them indicating these, as the case may be, on an accompanying plan or plans.

(g) In the case of farms with areas under intensive cultivation, which are considered of benefit under the provisions of Article 2 of this Law, there shall be described by the deponent, also the areas estimated to be exempted and the remaining area affected by the Agrarian Reform, indicating this on the accompanying plan, as the case may be.

Notwithstanding the provisions of this Article, from the time of the promulgation of this Law, the National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall provide for enforcement of precepts insofar as concerns expropriation and distribution of lands, based, for this purpose, on information in their power as to lands of private ownership which exceed the established limits.

Article 26. The owner who does not present the documents referred to in the preceding article and/or fails to tell the truth in the sworn declaration, or alters said documents in any way, shall lose the right to compensation provided for in this Law, without prejudice to the criminal liability which he may incur.

Article 27. The authorities entrusted with the application of this Law, after consideration of the documents referred to in Article 26, shall immediately make the pertinent investigations to ascertain the truth of the depositions within a period of ninety days computed from the initiation of the application, and shall enact the resolutions which may be necessary in order to proceed with the distribution of the lands and the delivery of the corresponding ownership deeds to the farmer beneficiaries.

Article 28. Once the resolutions which provide adjudications of parcels distributed to the beneficiaries are final, they shall be registered in the Section on Rural Property of the Property Registry, to be created by this Law. To each beneficiary shall be granted the corresponding deed of ownership with the formalities established in the Regulation to this Law. For the purposes of Article 3 of the Mortgage Law, the resolutions of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform issued in accordance with the above paragraph shall be considered as registrable deeds.

Article 29. The constitutional right of the owners affected by this Law to receive compensation for expropriated property is recognized. This compensation shall be determined by taking into consideration the sales value of the farms as this appears in the municipal tax assessment declarations on a date previous to October 10, 1958. Installations and buildings affected which are located on the farms shall be the subject to independent assessment on the part of the authorities charged with the enforcement of this Law. The stumps or stocks of crops shall likewise be assessed independently for purposes of compensating the legal owners.

Article 30. In those cases in which it is not possible to determine the value in accordance with the provisions of the preceding article, the assessment of the affected property shall be made by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform in the manner and using the procedures established by the Regulation to the Law.

Upon making the assessments and in accordance with the provisions of Article 224 of the Fundamental Law, the value for improvements which have been produced without the aid of labor or private capital but only by virtue of the action of the State, Province, Municipality or Autonomous Agencies between the date of the last transfer of the property and before the enforcement date of this Law shall be fixed and deducted. Forty-five percent of the unearned increment which, according to said constitutional precept, corresponds to the State, shall be ceded to the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, delivering to the Province, Municipality or Autonomous Agency in question the proportional share which corresponds to it.

The deductions collected in favor of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall remain available for benefit of the farmers who receive free lands in the corresponding proportion, and the remainder, if any, shall be put into the fund of Agrarian Reform for use as provided by Law.

These provisions shall be applicable also to all auctions or forced sales of rural estates capable of registration, in the manner to be determined by the Regulation of this Law.

Article 31. Compensation shall be paid in redeemable bonds. For such purpose, an issue of bonds of the Republic of Cuba shall be made, in the amount, terms and conditions which shall be determined in due time. The bonds shall be known as "Agrarian Reform Bonds," and shall be considered as public securities. The issue or issues shall be for a term of twenty years, with annual interest no higher than four and one-half percent (4½ percent). For payment of interests, amortization and expenses of the issue, the corresponding amount shall be incorporated each year in the Budget of the Republic.

Article 32. The holders of Agrarian Reform Bonds, or their amounts shall be granted an exemption for a period of 10 years from payment of Tax on Personal Income in the proportion derived from the investment which they may make in new industries with the sums received for compensation. The Minister of the Treasury shall be entrusted with drafting a Law for the Council of Ministers to regulate this exemption.

Equal rights shall be conceded to heirs of a person compensated in case they should be the ones to make the investment.

CHAPTER III—ON REDISTRIBUTED AGRICULTURAL PROPERTY

Article 33. The properties received gratuitously by virtue of the provisions of this Law may not again be incorporated in the patrimony of civil or commercial companies, except for conjugal partnerships and agricultural cooperatives mentioned in Chapter V of this Law.

Article 34. The properties referred to in the preceding article by virtue of the precepts of this Law may not be transmitted by any title, except by inheritance, sale to the State or exchange authorized by the authorities entrusted with the application of the same; nor may they be the object of contracts of lease, sharecropping, usufruct or mortgage.

Notwithstanding this, the State or the proper semistate organs may grant to such owners Loans with Mortgage Securities as repair or pledge loans.

Article 35. The new properties shall be maintained as individual real property units, and in the case of hereditary transfer must be adjudicated to a single heir in the partition of estates. In case such adjudication cannot be made without violating the rules on partition of estates established by the Civil Code, they shall be sold at public auction among bidders who are farmers or agricultural workers reserving to the forced heirs if any in such cases, who are farmers or agricultural workers, the right of redemption in the manner established in Article 1067 of the Civil Code.

Article 36. The ownership and possession of lands adjudicated by virtue of the provisions of this Law shall be regulated by the provisions on legal joint ownership of property in those cases of extra matrimonial unions of stable character legally capacitated to contract marriage provided they have lived together on the land during a period of not less than one year.

CHAPTER IV—ZONES OF AGRARIAN DEVELOPMENT

Article 37. The Zones of Agrarian Development shall be constituted by continuous and definite portions of the National Territory which, according to resolution by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, may be divided for the purpose of facilitating the enforcement of the Reform.

Article 38. Each Zone of Agrarian Development, by resolution of this same Organ, shall be subdivided into sections, in order to facilitate the operations of boundary marking and the administration of endowments and distribution as the work of carrying out the reform progresses.

Article 39. The National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall identify each Zone of Agrarian Development by an orderly numerical series with an initial referring to the province in which it may be located.

Article 40. In setting up a Zone of Agrarian Development and carrying out the redistribution or adjudication of lands, the National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall consider the following:

1. The most adequate area to facilitate the work of officially recording the real property, taking the census of the population, agrological investigations and boundary marking.

2. The agrological characteristics, the advisable amount of production and the facilities for improvement in the exploitation, warehousing, preservation and sale.

3. The nuclei of population or small towns located in each Zone for facilities of local supply and communication with the centers of State aid, and the establishment and functioning of farm associations, cooperatives and service stations for the Rural Police.

4. Hydrological resources for supply of water and installations of communal irrigation under a rule of easement or of cooperation.

5. The facilities for economic development and technological application through the development of small complementary rural industries, or the promotion of industrial centers near the sources of essential raw products and centers of distribution of products.

6. Existing facilities of communication and means of diffusion of news, information and ideas in general, as well as the possibility of creating these, as the case may be.

Article 41. In each Zone of Agrarian Development the National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall create, with cooperation of heads of family or agrarian cooperatives located there, centers of State aid, supplied with agricultural machinery, farm implements, grain storage, warehouses, deposits, means of transportation, experimental and breeding camps, aqueducts, generating powerplants, and other aids required by the agrarian and industrial development plans; and likewise for the establishment of schools with internees for general and agricultural teaching, maternity houses for farm women, first aid stations, medical and dental dispensaries, recreation halls, libraries, sports fields, and all means of aid to cultural production and diffusion.

Article 42. Each Zone of Agrarian Development shall be considered as an administrative unit of the Agrarian Reform, being registered in the corresponding record book with the collection of all pertinent background information to be taken into consideration for the purposes of endowment of lands and determination of those to be affected by the Agrarian Reform or excluded therefrom.

Likewise, the organization of statistical services and the taking of an Agricultural Census every five years shall be taken into account for analysis of the units of production and administration represented by the Zone of Agrarian Development, in order to check and compare periodically the results of the Agrarian Reform and adopt the proper measures to eliminate obstacles and to facilitate general progress.

CHAPTER V—ON AGRARIAN COOPERATION

Article 43. Wherever it is possible, the National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall encourage agrarian cooperatives. The agrarian cooperatives organized by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform on the lands which it has to dispose of by virtue of the above precepts of this Law, shall be under its management which shall reserve to itself the right to appoint the administrators of same for the purpose of insuring the best development in the initial stages of this category of economic and social organization, and until such time as greater autonomy is granted it by Law.

Article 44. The National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall give its support only to agrarian cooperatives formed by farmers or agricultural laborers for the purpose of exploiting the soil and gathering of fruits, through personal counsel of its members, according to its internal organization and rules of the Institute proper. In the cases of these cooperatives, the National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall see that these are located on lands adequate for the purposes pursued, and capable of accepting and using the technical aid and orientation of the said Institute.

Article 45. Other forms of cooperation may comprise one or more of the objectives tending to provide material resources, implements of labor, credit, sale, preservation, or conservation of products, constructions for common use, installations, baling, irrigation, industrialization of subproducts and residues, and as many facilities and useful means as can be of aid to the improvement of cooperatives according to the regulations, resolutions, and instructions issued by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform.

Article 46. The National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall mobilize all necessary funds for the development of the cooperatives, facilitating for such purposes long-term credits which may be amortized at a minimum interest. The Institute shall likewise give short-term credit for the operation of such cooperatives, adopting systems of financing according to the financial means of the enterprises, and always being careful to guarantee from the beginning a decent family income.

Article 47. The National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall determine annually the quota of funds to correspond to each Zone of Agrarian Development.

CHAPTER VI.—ON THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGRARIAN REFORM

Article 48. There is hereby created the "National Institute of Agrarian Reform" (INRA) as an autonomous entity, with its own legal personality, to apply and enforce this Law.

The National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall be governed by a President and an Executive Director, who shall be appointed by the Council of Ministers.

The following shall be the powers and duties of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform:

1. To undertake studies, provide for investigations, order and put into execution as many measures as may be necessary to attain the objectives of this Law, for this purpose adopting pertinent general and special regulations and instructions.

2. Propose to the Minister of the Treasury the tax measures for encouragement of savings and consumption believed adequate to promote the development of production of articles of farming-livestock origin.

3. To propose the margin of customs protection necessary in each case for the better development of agricultural-livestock production.

4. To coordinate the campaigns for improvement of living, health and education conditions of the rural population.

5. To determine the areas and limitations of the Zone of Agrarian Development which it has been decided to establish and organize.

6. Direct preliminary studies for the distribution and endowment of lands affected, installations of State aid, the administrative regulation of each Zone and delivery of the lands and their deeds to the beneficiaries.

7. Supervise the enforcement of the plans for agrarian development, endowment or distribution of lands, with respect to the internal government of each Zone as well as with respect to the objectives of the Law by issuing instructions and adopting resolutions and measures which it considers necessary.

8. Draft the Regulations for the agricultural cooperative associations which it organizes, and appoint the administrators of the same, in accordance with the provisions of Article 43; keep records and decide problems which may arise among its members; and hear and resolve any appeals which, according to the regulations, may be made on basis of dissent as to resolutions or measures adopted.

9. Organize and administer the School for Cooperative Training.

10. Process and decide, in accordance with this Law, all petitions or proposals directed to it with respect to colonization, endowment, distribution, administration and other aspects of the Reform, determining those presented in order to obtain their benefits.

11. Draw up its budgets and administer its funds, as well as those intended for the realization of the Agrarian Reform.

12. Organize its own statistical services and five year agricultural censuses, compiling and publishing their results for general information.

13. Organize its own offices and enact necessary internal regulations, as well as to establish its relations with the Departments of the Nation, the Provinces, Municipalities, Autonomous and Semi-Governmental Organs, agrarian commissions, and with agrarian and industrial delegations and associations in general.

14. Establish and direct its permanent relations with international Associations as may be proper.

Article 49. The National Institute of Agrarian Reform will create a credit Department for agricultural production. In turn, the Agricultural Division of BANFAIC shall adapt its credit policies to the rulings of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform.

Article 50. The State shall provide the funds to the National Institute of Agrarian Reform for the establishment of development units of agricultural-livestock production in all regions of the Nation. These units shall consist of:

(a) A center of equipment and machinery. Said center shall hire out services for use of said equipment and machinery at a moderate cost, shall lease them also at a reasonable cost, to the farmers, or facilitate their acquisition of the same.

(b) A center of research for experiments of agricultural or zootechnical nature.

(c) A center of technical counsel, for advice to the farmers.

Article 51. All the autonomous organs existing at the date of the promulgation of this Law, destined toward the establishment, regulation, propaganda and defense of agricultural production, shall be incorporated into the National Institute of Agrarian Reform as sections of its Department of Production and Foreign Commerce.

Article 52. The National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall have local delegations charged with the execution of this Law in areas assigned thereto.

The National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall regulate the functions of these Local Committees.

Article 53. The National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall present the draft Regulations to this Law to the Council of Ministers within a period no greater than sixty days from the date of its establishment.

CHAPTER VII—ON LAND TRIBUNALS

Article 54. Land Tribunals shall be created to hear and resolve judicial cases arising from the application of this Law, and any others related to agricultural contracting and rural property in general.

The National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall formulate within the period of three months from the date of promulgation of this law, the draft Organic Law for said Courts.

CHAPTER VIII—ON THE CONSERVATION OF FORESTS AND SOIL

Article 55. The State shall reserve from the lands which it owns some areas of forests and woods necessary for national parks for the purpose of maintaining and developing its forest resources. Those persons who have received any lands as owners, pursuant to the application of this Law, must obey strictly the forest legislation and take care, while cultivating, to conserve the soil. Violation of these provisions shall result in the loss of the right to the property acquired gratuitously from the State, without prejudice to the compensation to which he has a right on the basis of improvements and benefits made by him, from which sum shall be deducted the amount corresponding to the damage caused.

CHAPTER IX—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 56. State lands possessed by tenants, subtenants, sugar planters, share-croppers or tenants at will, insofar as these exceed five *caballerías* shall be the object of distribution in accordance with the provisions of this Law, following compensation to the possessors or tenants of the same for improvements and benefits introduced by them on the said excess lands.

Article 57. The right of preemption granted to the State by Article 89 of the Fundamental Law of the Republic to acquire with preference any real property or securities representing such property, shall be exercised, by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, insofar as concerns rural property.

The Institute shall exercise this right within the period of sixty days computed from the date on which it is notified of the corresponding ruling of the Court, official, or authority before whom the forced sale or auction of rural property is to be made.

For this purpose, the judges, courts and other officials intervening in auctions and forced transfers of rural property, or of securities representing these, at the time of adjudication to a bidder, shall suspend the proceedings and give notice through official memorandum to the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, with a description of the property affected and the procedure followed, in order that within the designated time the right of preemption may be exercised in the name of the State.

The period having lapsed without action by the Institute to exercise its right or with no communication to the official that the Institute would not exercise it, the procedure will then take its corresponding legal course.

If the auction or forced sale is of rural farms subject to this Law, the National Institute of Agrarian Reform may make payment in public debt bonds according to Article 31.

Article 58. Excluded from the benefits of this Law are tenants, subtenants or homesteaders (tenants at will) of rural farms dedicated exclusively to residence or recreation.

Article 59. Whatever may be the fate of the property affected by this Law, all grinding contracts for sugar cane shall be maintained in force, as well as the rights of plantations to grinding quotas, distributing these among the new owners according to the proportion of the quota which corresponds to the lot assigned to them in the distribution.

The distribution of grinding quotas referred to in the preceding paragraph shall be made with the necessary adjustments to guarantee, in each case, the protection granted to the small planter by the laws in force. The National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall take any necessary steps to guarantee to the sugar mills the supply of cane required for the grinding.

Article 60. In all cases of auctions of rural farms as a consequence of violation of loan or mortgage contracts, the children of the debtor who have been working on the auctioned farm shall have the right of redemption which may be exercised within the period of one month computed from the date of the corresponding registration record.

Article 61. In case of death of a presumed beneficiary, which occurs before or during the exercise of the rights recognized by this Law, these shall be considered as transmitted to the heirs, without interruption of possession in question, in accordance with the provisions of Article 440 of the Civil Code, and they may be protected as to said possession by the procedures of the *Amparo* Appeal which is governed by Order 362 of 1900, even when the eviction or ouster was the result of a resolution of the administrative authority.

Article 62. Eviction is prohibited from lands possessed by the presumed beneficiaries designated in the present Law, while the distribution of lands affected by the Agrarian Reform is still in progress.

Article 63. In case of testate and intestate succession, in which the hereditary estate includes a rural farm or farms which, as of January 1, 1959, was still in an undivided state, this shall be considered as subject to the purposes of this Law as if it were the patrimony of a single corporate person.

Article 64. It shall be a rule of interpretation of this Law that in case of doubt the decision shall be the one most favorable to the cultivator of the land, a rule which shall be extended to cases in which a cultivator sues for ownership or possession of the land or for his inherent rights as a farmer.

Article 65. Any act or contract shall be considered null, void and ineffective which attempts to evade the provisions of this Law, frustrating its purposes, through transfers, cessions, separations or combinations, which are fraudulent or lack true basis.

For the effects of the application of the present law, any sales, separations, or alienation of any nature shall lack legal value and effect if carried out since the first of January of 1959 in favor of relatives within the fourth degree of consanguinity and the second of affinity, as shall also any partitions of land jointly owned by said relatives.

Likewise for the effects of the application of the present Law, any adjudications exercised since the above mentioned date shall lack legal effect and value if made in favor of shareholders or partners in Companies of any category, if they are related to each other within the fourth degree of consanguinity and the second of affinity.

From the date of promulgation of the present Law, the transfers, separations or partitions listed in the preceding paragraphs, even those not between the relatives mentioned, shall be considered to have no legal value or effect for the purposes of the application of this Law.

Article 66. Any practice contrary to the objectives of this Law, or the abandonment or negligent use of the lands which are granted under its protection may be punished by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform rescinding the transfers by gratuitous deed, and declaring their reincorporation into the reserved lands. The Regulation to this Law shall govern the application of this Article.

Article 67. The tenants, subtenants, sugar planters, sharecroppers and homesteaders who cultivate lands of an area greater than five *caballerías* whether or not these are located in expropriable areas, may acquire up to a limit of thirty (30) *caballerías*, following assessment by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, through forced sale in a procedure which the Regulation to this Law shall establish, and provided they can prove beyond a doubt that they were in possession and exploiting the mentioned lands before the first of January of 1959.

In the case of tenant, subtenants, sugar planters, and homesteaders who possess and cultivate areas greater than 30 *caballerías*, this Law shall be applied as provided in Articles 1 and 2.

TRANSITIONAL PROVISIONS

First: The National Institute of Agrarian Reform and the Department in charge of Proposals and Studies of Revolutionary Laws shall present to the Council of Ministers, within a period of six months following the date of the promulgation of this Law, a draft Law regulating the Section on Rural Property in the Property Registers. Until such time as this Section is organized, the records concerning rural farms shall be made in the form and in the books provided by the law in force. The registered records made in favor of the beneficiaries of the Agrarian Reform shall be free.

Second: The eviction suits or other procedures which concern eviction from rural farms, shall be suspended at the point at which they are now, even if judgment has been already rendered until a decision is made as to the rights which this Law recognizes in favor of the occupants, and the judicial authorities who hear these procedures must communicate same to the National Institute of Agrarian Reform.

Once the rights recognized in favor of the defendants or occupants have been justified in the procedures, the authority who hears the case shall order the filing of the proceedings without further steps. In the event that communication is made through the National Institute of Agrarian Reform that the defendants or occupants are not protected by the benefits of this Law, the suspended procedures will continue according to Law.

Third: Appointments are null and without value or effect which have been made of officials entrusted with services related to the Agrarian Reform.

Fourth: Until such time as the Land Tribunals referred to in Article 54 of this Law are organized, the ordinary courts shall continue to hear the cases assigned to them.

Fifth: Until such time as the Regulation to this Law is promulgated, the same shall be applied through means of Resolutions issued by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform.

Sixth: Within the period of six months following the promulgation of this Law, the National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall present to the Council of Ministers a draft Law regulating its incorporation among the Autonomous Organs referred to in Article 51 of this Law.

Seventh: Within two years following the enforcement of this Law, the operation of all lands of private ownership must be encouraged, whatever may be their extent. After the lapse of this period, those lands of private ownership which are not in production shall be subject to the objectives of the Agrarian Reform in accordance with the provisions of this Law.

FINAL PROVISIONS

First: There shall be reserved in favor of the State and at the disposal of the Rebel Army the title to the peak of Pico Turquino and a belt of land toward the West of this point, with a longitude of fifteen hundred meters, on which shall be constructed the Rebel House (Casa de los Rebeldes), a Botanical Garden and a small Museum which shall serve to recall the struggle against the Tyranny, and help to maintain alive the loyalty to the principles and the union of the combatants of the Rebel Army.

Second: The provisions of the present Law are declared to be of social interest and public and national utility, because it insures the development of great extensions of rural properties, the economic development of the Nation, the intensive agricultural and industrial operation, and adequate redistribution of lands among a great number of small property owners and farmers.

Third: The section on Rural Property is hereby created in the Property Registers in existence. All registration operations concerning rural property shall be entered in the books of this Section commencing with the date designated by the Law regulating the operation of the same.

Fourth: The National Institute of Agrarian Reform shall exercise its functions coordinating them with the Rebel Army.

FINAL ADDITIONAL PROVISION

By virtue of the Constituent Power vested in the Council of Ministers, the present Law is declared to be an integral part of the Fundamental Law of the Republic to which it shall be added.

Consequently, this Law is granted constitutional force and hierarchy.

Therefore: I order that the present Law be observed and executed in all of its parts.

(Translated by Mrs. Helen L. Clagett, Chief, Hispanic Law Division, Law Library, Library of Congress.)

Mr. KORNFEDER. I may say in reference to this law, there is another point in there, that the land that is taken away is on the basis of this law to be distributed with preference to the supporters of the July 26 movement. That is, the land isn't just distributed on the basis of needy peasants, it is to be distributed with preference to the members of the rebel army, to their sympathizers, supporters, and their relatives.

In fact, the categories that he lists there of who is to receive the land with the preference is so large, that one is justified to suspect that after he distributes the land to all those that are listed as preferences, there would not be any other land left. He has about five categories listed along those lines; he can use this law to eliminate the opposition and to entrench his political following in possession of the land.

Senator KEATING. That might be said to have an element of appeal to so many different groups.

Mr. KORNFEDER. This law is really—it should be studied in detail because it is a new method of building a political machine without the Communist Party. This is one of the features where he tries to establish an organization for himself that he controls personally, and it may be used to keep the Communists on the sidelines.

Senator KEATING. Do you think it is safe to put this plan in the record of these hearings, and make it public in this country—this political plan?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh. If there were a plan to be put in operation in the United States, you mean—well, that would be quite something.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, on the question of the Communist line with respect to what happened in Cuba, I have an article from the Worker of Sunday, May 31, by Blas Roca, general secretary of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, under the title "What is the Nature of Cuba's Revolution?"

I offer it for the record at this point.

Senator KEATING. It may be received.

(The newspaper article referred to follows:)

[The Worker, Sunday, May 31, 1958, p. 7]

CUBAN COMMUNIST LEADER ANSWERS THE QUESTION: WHAT IS THE NATURE OF CUBA'S REVOLUTION?

(By Blas Roca, General Secretary of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba)

A short time ago, in an assembly of the Socialist Youth, a discussion developed about the character of the Cuban revolution.

It has been interesting how different sectors have viewed it.

Some placed things in such a manner as to come close to saying that this is a Catholic revolution, that it follows the lines of *Rerum Novarum* of the Catholic social doctrine.

This, naturally, is false. The Cuban revolution is not a Catholic revolution, as it could not have been either Protestant or Buddhist or Spiritist or Masonic, because the basic problems it has to solve are neither of a confessional nor of a religious nature. The epoch of the religious wars—that is to say, the wars and revolutions in which the social, economic and political problems were presented and debated under the cloak of religion—is past.

Those that want to have this revolution viewed as Catholic, or almost Catholic, put even greater effort in demonstrating that this is not a Communist revolution.

All this effort is unnecessary. We, the Communists, are the first to agree that the Cuban Revolution, in its present stage, is not Communist; it is not a proletarian revolution which would establish Socialism tomorrow. Those who scare easy, and those who want to scare everybody else with the ghost of Communism can rest assured and reassure their excited friends. Nobody in Cuba—not even the Communists—pretend to establish any kind of Communism or Socialism at this time.

In relation with this a phenomenon characteristic of the action of the enemies of the revolution is taking place.

During almost three months, the imperialists, the reactionaries and their friends have been making efforts to demonstrate that the Cuban Communists had done nothing for the Cuban revolution and that we had nothing to with it.

They pretended, even to turn the Revolution against the Communists and to raise the infamous banner of anti-Communism of the Yankee imperialists, of the defeated tyranny, of the Trujillos and Somozas, of Franco and his late sponsors, Hitler and Mussolini.

Now, all of a sudden, they turn about, and without abandoning that campaign, they bring to the fore of their news cables the aim to demonstrate that the Communists determined everything; that the government, the journalists, the functionaries, etc., are Communists. If we were to add up all those that the propagandists of imperialism and counter-revolution claim to be Communists, we would have the largest and most powerful party of Cuba. This, unfortunately, is not true now. It will be, in time, because history marches relentlessly towards Communism, towards the elimination of all forms of exploitation of man by man.

Let's return to the main subject.

The character of a revolution is not determined by the political (or religious or philosophic) affiliation of some of its protagonists, no matter how many or outstanding they may be, in the same way that the character of a party is not defined by the name it assumes or the pretensions it proclaims.

Let us remember, in this respect that the "Liberals" of Cuba were not only conservative but also reactionary and subservient to the tyranny and that the "Authentic Revolutionaries" were not, as life has demonstrated, authentic revolutionaries: they were falsified revolutionaries.

To define the character of a revolution, what must be studied firstly and fundamentally, is the economic, political, and social content of its basic tasks, of the historic tasks it resolves or intends to resolve.

What are the historic tasks the Cuban revolution in its present stage of development must resolve, is resolving, or is trying to resolve?

Our revolution, in its present stage, has, according to the objective realities, and the needs for the development of our country, four basic historic tasks; they are:

1. The full independence and the sovereignty of our nation.
2. The Agrarian Reform to end the latifundia and other feudal remnants and to give land to the peasants.
3. The economic development on an independent basis, which is the support and guarantee of political independence (recovery of national wealth, national con-

trol of the economy, new relations with external markets, elimination of monoculture, diversification of production, etc.).

4. Broadening and deepening of democracy, giving it a truer content (democratic rights for the people and the workers, eliminating racial discrimination, cultural revolution, elimination of corruption and fraud in elections, etc.).

The basic tasks, imposed by the historic needs of the development of our country and not by the opinions of any philosophers nor by the whims of any party, movement, or social group, are the ones that determine by force the character of the Cuban Revolution in the present stage.

The revolution is currently resolving and trying to resolve these tasks.

That is why, to the question of what kind of revolution is this one, we can answer that it is a patriotic and democratic, national-liberating and agrarian revolution.

It is not, in its present stage, a socialist revolution. Its tasks remain within the bourgeois frame of society. It does not intend nor pretend to destroy the capitalist regime as such, but to eliminate the domination and exploitation of foreign imperialism and to destroy the semifeudal latifundia, to promote and accelerate its own economic development, and radically better the living and working conditions of the exploited masses.

If we take into account not only the economic-political-social content of its basic tasks, but also the forces that move this revolution, the classes and social forces that determine, realize, and impel it, and the rhythm and depth of its development, I would say that it is an advanced popular revolution.

I say "popular," because this is a revolution of the popular classes, of the peasant, of the workers, of the middle layers of the petty bourgeoisie and of the bourgeoisie. The masses of the Rebel Army are composed mainly of peasants and agrarian workers. Its officers are also from these sectors, from the petty bourgeoisie and from the workers.

The workers from the cities, in spite of the official Batista trade union machine were the driving force and the mass of the resistance, of the agitation, of the mobilization against the tyranny in the plains, and acted with decisiveness and unanimity to frustrate the maneuvers of Cantillo and others who tried to blunt the revolution.

I say "advanced" because, even though the national bourgeoisie is a force in the revolution, it has not been able to capitalize on the popular sacrifice to take the leadership; because from the moment in which Fidel Castro assumed the post of Premier and fused the revolutionary power with the provisional government, the leadership moved to the radical petty bourgeoisie; because the political changes and the destruction of the power apparatus of the tyrannic-pro-imperialist regime, have been profound and radical; because the measures against the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and those who misappropriate public funds are speedy and direct; of simple confiscation of estates without further process; because the recovery of the full national independence and national sovereignty has been done sharply, resolutely, and radically, as demonstrated by the expulsion of the U.S. military mission and the basic stands on foreign policy proclaimed by Fidel Castro.

Because of all this we can conclude that the Cuban revolution is an advanced popular revolution, a patriotic and democratic, national-liberating, and agrarian revolution.

1. This is the revolution of the full independence and sovereignty.
2. This is the revolution against the latifundia and for the distribution of land to the peasants.

3. This is the revolution of the economic independence and industrialization which guarantee and consolidate the political independence and sovereignty, already recovered and established.

4. This is the revolution of democracy with a new meaning, with the meaning of revolutionary and progressive democracy.

5. This is the revolution of the Cuban people, the old revolution started in 1868, restarted in 1895, frustrated in 1933, which in every date poses the same old demands on a higher level, which now develops victoriously under the conditions of a new epoch which impresses on it its stamp; of the epoch of the advance of socialism and of the decline of imperialism, of the epoch of the end of colonialism, of the epoch in which the proletariat has substituted the bourgeoisie as the embodiment of progress, of the epoch in which the world marches speedily to the new and higher freedom of Communism.

It is, as Fidel Castro said, a revolution as Cuban as the palm trees, but that, as these, makes its mark in the world picture, it influences it and receives from it its inevitable influence.

Yes, we can simply say, this is the Cuban revolution, the revolution that will not halt, that must not halt, that must maintain its rhythm and, at the right time must pass to its next stage, in search of greater social and national progress.

Mr. SOURWINE. Following what you just said about Castro building a personal machine, do you foresee cooperation or friction between Castro and the Communist Party in Cuba?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, I foresee friction because the Communist Party is a political animal, which, as it were, has its automatic laws of growth and development. They cannot tolerate a situation where they do not grow, are not permitted to wedge in. They must be in opposition if they are obstructed, and the type of machine that Castro is setting up there is a machine that could obstruct them, they will seek to break through and force Castro to establish the committee system instead of personal appointees, then that will give them an opening to move in.

So, friction, in my opinion, is inevitable between Castro and the Communists.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean, the Communist Party of Cuba or Moscow Communists, or is it the same thing?

Mr. KORNFEDER. No. I mean the Communist Party of Cuba. Moscow, in my opinion, will play along with Castro for major strategic reasons, even if they have to overrule the local Communists. Moscow has sacrificed its hard core many times before to serve its gods of strategy, and it is possible that they will do it here. Certainly, they will restrain the local Communists from developing a conflict.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, further on the point of Communist views in regard to what is happening in Cuba, I offer certain excerpts from a two-page article from the World Marxist Review of April 1959, headed "Cuba Today."

Senator KEATING. It will be received.

(Excerpt of article from World Marxist Review of April 1959 follows:)

**EXCERPTS FROM WORLD MARXIST REVIEW FOR APRIL 1959, ARTICLE ENTITLED
"CUBA TODAY," PAGES 69 AND 70**

"The new regime, as we see, has mass support (workers, peasants and national bourgeoisie), with the national and petty bourgeoisie playing the leading role. The provisional government is not representative of all the political forces which brought it to power and which support it and for this reason cannot be regarded as the government of a revolutionary and popular coalition."

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"The fight for unity does not preclude the possibility of differences arising among these forces.

"These differences should not be hushed up or evaded. On the contrary, in view of the tasks facing all classes, they should be overcome in unison, in a democratic way, but utilizing the freedom which has been won. Furthermore, it is necessary to preserve the solidarity of the revolutionary camp, the identity of viewpoints and co-ordination for the purpose of achieving the common aim and plans."

* * * * *

"All agents and associates of the tyranny guilty of crimes, torture, etc., must be severely punished and the reactionary deputies, elected during the last, rigged elections and during the equally shameful elections in 1954, deprived of the right to engage in politics."

* * * * *

"The Popular Socialist Party, the theses say, aims at achieving its lofty liberation goals and a socialist future without another civil war.

"Although during the years of the tyranny the Party tried to avoid violence, the imperialists and reactionaries made civil war inevitable. Consequently the Party supported the revolutionary war. Many of the members and sympathizers

fought with the insurgent army in which they distinguished themselves, winning general recognition for their courage. In some places the armed units formed on the Party's initiative joined forces with Fidel Castro."

* * * * *

"While not satisfied with the present composition of the provisional government the Party nevertheless supports the new regime and defends it against the attacks, conspiracies and pressure of the home reactionaries and foreign imperialists. It stands for a government based on a broad popular coalition, including representatives not only of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie but also of the peasantry and the proletariat."

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Mr. SOURWINE. I also offer an article by R. Hart Phillips, special to the New York Times, from the New York Times of Sunday, May 31, 1959.

Senator KEATING. That will be received.

(The newspaper article referred to follows:)

[The New York Times, Sunday, May 31, 1959]

COMMUNISTS IN CUBA POSE A BIG PROBLEM

CASTRO HAS YET TO TAKE FIRM STAND ON THEIR ROLE IN POLITICS

(By R. Hart Phillips, special to the New York Times)

HAVANA, May 30.—Cubans and the outside world are today attempting to measure the degree of influence the Communists have in the revolutionary government of Premier Fidel Castro.

Many Cubans feel that Dr. Castro's reforms follow the Communist pattern. They note his steps toward expropriation of the lands of the big sugar companies, both American and Cuban, and other big tracts under the new agrarian law, his drastic lowering of land values through mandatory rent reduction, and other reforms, which they say indicate that the Government is being led down the path to communism. They point to many key figures in the Government who are known to be sympathizers and close collaborators with the Communists.

"The Communists are a part of Castro's 26th of July revolution," Dr. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, editor of the Communist newspaper Hoy, told this correspondent. "We are not participating in the actual government but we are participating in the revolution because this is a revolution of the people."

"If you will read our program written in January 1956, and published in December 1957, you will see the coincidence between the program of the Castro revolution and the Communist program for this historic moment."

DECLARED PROGRAM

Dr. Rodriguez went on to say that the Communists believe Cuba must have "economic and political independence, industrial development, agrarian reform, a change in fiscal and tariff policies and other reforms before going into socialism."

Conrado Bequer, recently elected secretary general of the Federation of Sugar Workers of Cuba, said yesterday that "the Communists never helped the 26th of July labor movement until the 26th of December—5 days before the fall of the Batista regime."

According to Senor Bequer, the Communists have lost force in Cuban labor unions since the 26th of July movement won the elections in all unions this year.

"The Communists never helped or cooperated with the 26th of July revolution during its 2 years' fight against Batista," he asserted.

Señor Bequer went on to say that the Communists had been unable to elect more than 13 delegates to the recent congress of the Sugar Workers Federation which elected him secretary general.

The Communist newspaper Hoy and the official organ of the Castro Government, Revolucion, have been engaged in a public argument for the last 3 weeks. Revolucion charges that the Communists are trying to divide the Cuban revolution by maintaining their identity instead of working for the revolution.

COOPERATE CLOSELY

Since the victory of the Castro revolution last January 1, the Communists and the 26th of July movement have been in close cooperation. Premier Castro has repeatedly said, "We will never combat communism."

So far, there has been no statement by Premier Castro directly criticizing or expressing his opposition to the Communists. One man high in the 26th of July circles said this week that the revolutionary Government has "no intention of taking any action against the Communists, who have the same liberty in Cuba as anyone else."

The numerical strength of the Communists in Cuba at present is difficult to estimate. However, their organizing ability and the dedication of their leaders and members make them a formidable force against even the overwhelming majority of the 26th of July movement, according to the opinion of many.

At one time during the forties the Communists had 150,000 registered members. They began to achieve strength during the first administration of former President Fulgencio Batista (1940-44), when they were given every support, controlled island labor, elected senators and members of the house of representatives and were given cabinet posts. Later, after the party was outlawed by the Prio government and again by General Batista after he seized power in 1952, the Communists broke down the party to a hard core of faithful.

David Salvador, present Secretary of the Confederation of Cuban Workers, which controls labor of the island, seemed to be in accord with the Communists several weeks ago when he declared, "Cuba can never be with the United States, which oppresses us."

CASTRO SUPPORT

Premier Castro supported Señor Salvador at that time against the former President of Costa Rica. Col. José Figueres, who was here as a guest of the Government. Speaking to a huge crowd of workers, Colonel Figueres said that the Latin-American countries should be on the side of the United States in case of war between that country and the Soviet Union. Dr. Castro replied that Cuba would be neutral.

While Dr. Castro said in the United States during his visit in April that Cuba would adhere to her treaties on hemispheric defense, he has never made that statement in a speech to the Cuban people.

At present the Communists are trying to build up their power in the island. There are no political parties under the revolutionary law, but the Popular Socialist Party, the name by which the Communists have been known since the thirties, works to organize its followers for any coming elections.

The old leaders of the Communist Party are back again. Among them are Lazaro Peña, former czar of labor under the first Batista regime and the Grau Administration Blas Roca, regarded as the top Communist leader, and Carlo Rafael Rodriguez. All are speaking over the radio and appearing on television, supporting the revolutionary Government and attacking the United States almost daily.

RADIO STATION

They are attempting to get back their former radio station, Mil Diez, which was the only free channel station in Cuba. This station was taken from them by the Prio administration.

Since last January 1, the Communists have acquired sufficient funds to install a modern printing plant for the newspaper Hoy, the former plant of which was destroyed by the Prio and Batista administrations. There seems no doubt from reading Hoy that the Communists are highly pleased with their progress under the Castro regime.

The policy of the revolutionary government is the policy of Premier Castro. So, until he openly opposes the Communists, who are today active in the revolution, few people here will believe there has been any serious break between him and them.

It is pointed out in some quarters here that it would not be an act of political wisdom at present for Premier Castro to make an open break with the Communists. While they are still in the minority, they are powerful as a highly organized and disciplined group.

Mr. SOURWINE. I next offer an article from the Worker, headed "CPUSA Urges Defense of Free Cuba", from the Worker of February 8, 1959.

Senator KEATING. It will be received.
(Newspaper article referred to follows:)

[The Worker, Feb. 8, 1959, p. 3]

CPUSA URGES DEFENSE OF FREE CUBA

The National executive committee of the Communist Party last week called on the American people to declare their support of a "good neighbor policy of friendship to the Cuban people and their government of national liberation and democratic reform." The statement, signed by Eugene Dennis, national secretary, and Robert Thompson, executive secretary, pledged the support of the Communists in the U.S. to do their utmost to "defend Cuba's rights to full and untrammeled sovereignty, its independence, its social and economic welfare."

The statement was entitled "Hands off Cuba! Solidarity with Free Cuba!"
The text follows:

"The Cuban Revolution has had a most profound effect upon vast sections of the North American people, who enthusiastically hail the new people's power as an historic rebuff to imperialism and native tyranny in this hemisphere.

"'Cuba Libre' is a cry of emancipation that finds great support among America's working people. In growing numbers they welcome the democratic aims of Cuba's new government and its revolutionary justice against the sadists, the murderers, the arsonists who tortured and killed untold numbers of Cuban patriots.

"The cables today that tell of concealed Batista supporters who hurled hand grenades into a procession in Oriente arouse great indignation among Americans. The tragedy in Oriente further underscores the imperative need to rid Cuba of Batista's butchers —to bring to the bar of the people's justice those who are known, as well as to ferret out all hidden supporters of the Batista dictatorship.

"It is no secret that Batista and his followers looted the national wealth of Cuba—looted it as did the big monopolies of Wall Street, which have been robbing the Cuban people for generations. Hence the urgency of firm revolutionary justice so that Batista and his backers, with the incalculable millions they stole, will not succeed in carrying out their evil, subversive designs in Free Cuba.

"The American public is well aware of the Galindez tragedy, of his disappearance and undoubtedly death at the hands of the tyrant Trujillo—that same tyrant who is today the host of Batista and other deposed blood-stained dictators. And it should be clear to the American people that Batista, like Trujillo, will stop at no atrocity, no horror, no open or concealed trickery, to sabotage and subvert the people's will. "Increasingly, it is recognized by Americans that the horrors of the Batista regime could not have been possible without the machinations, guidance and support of American imperialism and its political representatives. By the same token, it should be evident that the fresh horrors which Batista plots in his efforts to overturn the revolution could only be effectively perpetrated with the open or hidden support of the State Department and the FBI.

"To make this crystal clear is the sacred responsibility of all who cherish freedom, of all who realize the glorious advance, made by the Cuban people—an advance which is part of the great national liberation movement unfolding in all Latin America as well as elsewhere in the world.

"The mask of U.S. imperialism must be stripped from its face so that all can recognize it plainly and act accordingly to prevent its open or concealed intervention, which remains the primary danger to the Cuban Revolution.

"We American Communists hail the great achievement of the Cuban people, and the new power that was led to victory by the noble forces of Fidel Castro and his associates. We hail the Cuban working class and peasantry whose struggles, and especially the general strike of January 1, played so important a role in overthrowing the Batista power. We hail the Cuban women who fought so valiantly for the lives of their sons and for a free Cuba, and the youth—workers, peasants, students, Negro and white—who labored so bravely to write this magnificent chapter in the history of the Americas.

"We hail the glorious Popular Socialist Party of Cuba—valiant, selfless, indestructible, with its exemplary record as patriots and fighters for national liberation and social progress. And we hail its slogan: 'Defend the Revolution and Make it Advance.'

"The Communists of the United States know well that the monopolies of Wall Street, in their striving to wring limitless profits from the sweat and blood of the Cuban people, constitute the greatest peril to Cuba's freedom and social progress. These monopolies are the enemies of the people of the United States, as well as of those of the colonial and semicolonial countries. And their oppressive role, their intrigues and interference in the internal affairs of Cuba and the other Latin American countries has intensified the exploitation and tax burdens of the American people and retarded democratic advance in the United States no less than elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere.

"We American Communists pledge our utmost to defend Cuba's right to full and untrammeled sovereignty, its independence, its social and economic welfare. "Hands off Cuba" must be the reply of America's workers and farmers, of the Negro people, the students and intellectuals, to all open or covert conspiracies of the big trusts and their agents in the Government to interfere in any way with the unfolding of Cuba's sacred aspirations for freedom, social advance and world peace.

"We call upon the American people to express their solidarity with these aspirations, and to declare their support of a good-neighbor policy of friendship to the Cuban people and their government of national liberation and democratic reform."

Mr. SOURWINE. Finally, to show the other side of the newspaper reports, an article is offered from the New York Times of Thursday, July 16, 1959, by Herbert L. Matthews.

(The newspaper article referred to follows:)

[The New York Times, Thursday, July 16, 1959, p. 1]

CUBA HAS A ONE-MAN RULE AND IS HELD TO BE NON-RED

YOUTHFUL CASTRO REGIME, BESET BY PROBLEMS, IS LEARNING BY DOING

(By Herbert L. Matthews)

HAVANA, July 15.—Half a year after the revolt against the Batista regime, Cuba is in the midst of the first great social revolution in Latin America since the Mexican Revolution of 1910.

The overthrow of the dictatorship of Gen. Fulgencio Batista January 1, 1959, merely ended the political phase of the struggle for power. In the process, the entire structure of government as it then existed was destroyed and a revolution to establish a different social, economic, and political status was begun.

For one who has followed the struggle closely from its beginnings 2½ years ago and has just spent nearly 2 weeks in Cuba, it is possible to draw an outline of the situation as it really is. This being a period of creation, gestation, and transformation, such an outline cannot be simple or complete, but the main features are clear enough.

Premier Fidel Castro, the young man who headed the forces that fought and won the military phase of the struggle, is now so powerful personally that for all practical purposes he is the Provisional Government of Cuba.

CASTRO STILL POPULAR

His popularity has not diminished appreciably. No one in Cuba has any doubts that in a fair election he would win at least 80 percent of the votes, and more likely 90 percent.

The powerful enemies Dr. Castro has made because of his agrarian reform and economic measures are few, have no mass backing and are unarmed.

This is not a Communist revolution in any sense of the word and there are no Communists in positions of control. This is the overwhelming consensus among Cubans in the best position to know and this writer subscribes to that opinion after searching inquiries and talks with Cubans in all walks of life and with many Americans.

The accusations of the former head of the Cuban Air Force, Maj. Pedro Luis Diaz Lanz, before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee yesterday are rejected by virtually all Cubans. It is stated here that before his resignation Major Diaz was removed from his high post for incompetence, extravagance and nepotism.

U.S. ACTIONS RESENTED

The use to which his defection was put in Washington has aroused more bitterness and resentment against the United States than any event in the history of Cuban-American relations, according to the reactions in Havana today.

[President Eisenhower said Wednesday that charges of communism against Premier Castro were not easy to prove. "The United States has made no such charges," the President noted.]

There seem to be very few in Cuba—and one need have no hesitation in saying this—who believe Fidel Castro is a Communist, is under Communist influence or is a dupe of communism. The problem of communism, which aroused little interest in Cuba until Americans picked it up, can be easily summarized. The point of view among the most experienced and knowledgeable Cubans is as follows:

There are no Reds in the Cabinet and none in high positions in the Government or army in the sense of being able to control either governmental or defense policies. The only power worth considering in Cuba is in the hands of Premier Castro, who is not only not Communist but decidedly anti-Communist even though he does not consider it desirable in the present circumstances to attack or destroy the Reds—as he is in a position to do any time he wants.

There are some Communists in secondary positions in such fields as motion pictures and culture and a few in the army, although not in key positions. In addition, there is the much less clearly defined zone of fellow-travelers, Communist sympathizers and those who are tolerant of known Communists and of communism.

Lists of supposed Reds and sympathizers circulate in the various embassies, newspaper offices and undoubtedly in the chancelleries and secret services of all countries. The names that appear on all lists are those of former Communists, but there is no way of proving that any but card-bearing party members are Communists today. Consequently, there is a great field for controversy.

Premier Castro and his followers have made it clear that, as Cuban patriots working for Cuba and the Cuban people, they are against communism since the Reds have entirely different aims and loyalties. Moreover, Cubans agree that in present circumstances Dr. Castro is not going to share his power with anyone or any other movement.

The main point that Cubans make is that such lists do not give anything but a small part of the Cuban picture, whatever element of truth they may contain.

One feature of Premier Castro's attitude is typical of the Cuban leaders. This is that however anti-Communist they feel, they will not, as they see it, humiliate themselves by acting as if they were under American orders, pressures or threats. The attacks and suspicions in the United States are considered here to be strengthening the Communists by making them far more important than they really are.

Even the agrarian reform, Cubans point out with irony, is not at all what the Communists were suggesting, for it is far more radical and drastic than the Reds consider wise as a first step to the collectivization they, but not the Cuban leaders, want.

The fears about the land reform are economic and social. It is so drastic and radical that experts say it will be extremely difficult to put into effect. There are not enough trained men and not enough capital, it is said, and the reform requires an understanding and cooperation from the peasants and workers that cannot be counted upon.

It is, in theory, possible that the reform will succeed; it is more probable that it will fail or only partly succeed.

To students of the Cuban scene, the bad or weak features of the situation today lie in other fields than communism. The complete upheaval of Cuban life would in any event have brought enormous and multiple problems.

The Cubans say that to have maintained law and order, to have established the first completely honest regime in Cuban history and to get a vast majority of the people moving behind a drastic revolution in their country and their lives is as much as should be expected in 6 months.

ECONOMY IN DIFFICULTY

Nevertheless, there is a great deal of disorganization; the economy has contracted seriously and is expected to get worse; the radical agrarian reform is an enormous gamble that has done injustice to many large and medium proprietors; the budget is in deficit; investment has dwindled to a trickle; more inflation threatens. While there are many expert, intelligent and devoted ministers and public servants, there is also much inexperience, amateurishness and incompetence.

This a revolt of youth, and youth proverbially has its fling, and learns only by trial and error. Young men who should be spending years learning by guidance and experience how to run a department have been forced suddenly to take control of ministries, to wield great authority and to handle many millions in public funds.

The "old" men in the Cabinet and in the top banking positions are about 45 years of age, and while they are authorities in their field, few have had any experience in government. With few exceptions the old politicians and public servants were so discredited that no one wants them back.

Moreover, the young man who single-handed has made the history of Cuba today, Fidel Castro, towers over all his associates in power and popularity to such a degree that one can understand why Cubans say: "Fidel is No. 1; there is no No. 2."

Thus, one sees in Cuba the paradox of a great centralization of power with an equally great dispersion of authority, because no one man can deal with every problem that arises.

It is because everyone tries to see Dr. Castro and because he tries to do everything and usually is the only one who can get something done that there is such disorganization in Cuban affairs. Ministers and heads of departments sometimes wait weeks before they can see him on urgent problems. Decrees pile up unsigned.

CASTRO IS IMPATIENT

Dr. Castro is so sure of himself, so full of ideas, so fabulously energetic and so popular that to get in his way is like bucking a steamroller.

But he is not yet 33; his experience in economics, politics and administration began January 1. He knows what he wants; he is impatient of many rules of orthodox politics and economy (although he has a healthy fear of inflation) and he is a young man in a hurry.

His method of putting over his ideas, molding public opinion and even, up to a point, conducting government, is unique. This, in a manner of speaking, is government by television.

Premier Castro spends incredible hours every week before the television, explaining, cajoling, threatening, promising, announcing—at times it would seem on the spur of the moment—new policies.

Three hours is a short speech for him; four to six a normal one. He shows up from 1 to 2 hours late and thinks nothing of talking until 3 in the morning or later.

Premier Castro is avoiding elections in Cuba for two reasons. He feels that his social revolution now has dynamism and vast popular consent, and he does not want to interrupt the process. Moreover, most observers would agree that Cubans today do not want elections. The reason is that elections in the past have merely meant to them the coming of corrupt politicians seeking the spoils of power.

Those who argue in favor of elections say it is the duty of the leaders of a country to teach the values of fair elections, that a popular mandate and a legislature are necessary if Cuba is to establish democracy. Those urging elections add that balloting would show the weakness of the Communists and make a good impression abroad.

The best guess is that Cuban elections still are 2 to 3 years off.

As far as the economy in general is concerned, authorities point out that there are three possibilities. Either there is private investment or public investment or great unemployment. Since the last is ruled out, and since private investors are frightened or antagonistic or waiting to see what happens, nothing remains but public investment. This means inflation and deficit financing.

BUSINESS STAGNATING

It is hoped that the stimulus to business and a belief that Dr. Castro and his 26th of July Movement are here to stay a long time and will bring about a normal adjustment in the course of time. At present, business is flourishing in some consumer goods but on the whole it is stagnant and there is very little foreign investment.

The question of how to make the best of the situation is basic to all calculations, internal and external. Premier Castro's power and popularity are such that realism demands taking a long view. This affects all business and diplomatic considerations, and since Cuba is so close to the United States in every sense, Americans are more affected than anyone.

For this reason the grave disagreements that have arisen between Americans and Cubans, the antagonism against Cuba in the United States and against the United States in Cuba are considered here to be exceptionally disturbing.

Another foreign issue with which Cuba is deeply concerned is the Dominican Republic. The young Cuban revolutionaries consider themselves as paladins of freedom and social justice in all of Latin America. Their chief target is Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, dictator of the Dominican Republic.

For the time being, at least, encouragement of invasion of other countries like the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua seems to have ended. The emphasis from now on is expected to come in the diplomatic field and especially in the Organization of American States.

At the same time, Premier Castro does believe that he and his 26th of July Movement represent the wave of the future in Latin America, not just in Cuba. Cubans are convinced that his voice will be heard all over the Western Hemisphere, and it is the voice of the angry young man of our times.

Mr. SOURWINE. I would like to show this next item to the witness and ask him if he knows that to be a Communist indoctrination paper.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes; I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Utilized for party instruction?

Mr. KORNFEDER. That is the directive that the Communist Party of the United States sends out to orientate its members in favor of the Cuban revolution, and Castro, and is very, very vitriolic.

Senator KEATING. What was your last comment?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Very, very vitriolic; made my blood boil when I read it.

Mr. SOURWINE. May that be received?

Senator KEATING. It will be received.

(Document entitled "The Cuban Revolution and the Tasks of the Communist Party, U.S.A.," follows:)

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

I. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

Castro's prolonged resistance against the Batista tyranny "has inflamed the hearts not only of his own people, but of people all around the globe. Not since Sandino resisted the American Marines for six years in the Nicaraguan Mountains, has any Latin American figure so caught the imagination of the world as Fidel Castro," writes Carleton Beals in *The Nation* (Jan. 17, 1959).

The overthrow of the Batista dictatorship in January 1959 by Castro and the Cuban people's liberation forces is a tremendous victory for democracy, peace, and social progress for the peoples of the world. It was an uncompromising victory without the mediation or last-minute move by U.S. imperialism.

Occurring only ninety miles from Florida, on the very doorstep of the United States, this historic event represents a profound defeat for American imperialism, which armed and supported the Batista dictatorship. On the other hand, it has aroused the admiration of the American people. The victory aids the struggle of the American people against the U.S. trusts, and will give a fresh impulse to the freedom struggles of the Negro people.

It is highly significant that U.S. imperialism was not able to intervene to prevent the people's victory. It sent in marines at one stage of the struggle but it was forced by world public opinion to withdraw them. Little Cuba delivered a staggering defeat to the imperialist Colossus. This indicates the power of the socialist, anti-imperialist and democratic forces on a world scale.

The events in Cuba and Venezuela show that under the new world conditions it is possible for the oppressed people of Latin America, when it is united and fights militantly, to win national liberation despite the power and nearness of U.S. imperialism.

The anticolonial, national liberation struggle, which embraces Asia and Africa, is also in full swing in Latin America. The Cuban struggle stirred the Latin American peoples everywhere and the victory will heighten and broaden it still further.

National reaction and American imperialism may save a little longer the remaining dictatorships in Latin America. They may even save themselves for a while by demagogically making some concessions to their oppressed people,

like the present Trujillo efforts to raise the very low basic wage of the Dominican worker with the blessing of the International Labor Office. But the strength of the liberation movement is shown by the destruction in Latin America of half a dozen dictators during the last four years.

On September 19, 1955, General Juan Domingo Peron had to abandon the presidency (read dictatorship) of Argentina.

On December 13, 1956, Paul G. Magliore, dictator of Haiti, was forced into exile.

On May 10, 1957, dictator Gustavo Rojas Pinilla of Colombia was thrown out of office.

On January 23, 1958, dictator Marcos Perez Jiminez of Venezuela was ousted and fled to Trujillo's Dominican Republic.

Four dictators still remain: Alfredo Stroessner who became dictator of Paraguay after forcing the duly elected president Frederico Chaves to resign in 1954. General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo y Medina has been dictator of the Dominican Republic for the last twenty-eight years. Francois Duvalier, who became president at a national election in 1957, has become for all intents and purposes Haiti's dictator, after the powers granted to him following the crushing of the last July rebellion. Then there is Luis Somoza who inherited the presidency of Nicaragua after his father Anastasio was assassinated in September 1956.

There is no doubt that as the Cubans continue their revolution and make efforts to take away the usurped rights and privileges of U.S. imperialism in Cuba, the danger of intervention will grow. It is essential that the democratic freedom-loving forces in this country realize the danger and act to arouse public opinion in the United States.

II. THE BATISTA DICTATORSHIP AND U.S. IMPERIALISM

Batista established his dictatorship by a coup on March 10, 1952. He ruled by bloody terror, by torture, airplane bombings of peoples (with Napalm bombs), executions of workers' leaders, wholesale imprisonment and shootings of rebels. Twenty thousand patriots—men, women, and children—were killed. "I have seen reports of human fingernails and toenails yanked out of live victims and human eyes that were gouged out. It is almost a Buchenwald story, the crimes committed by this clever little dictator so pampered by our State Department in both Democratic and Republican days." Carleton Beals, in *The Nation*, January 24, 1959.

Refugees from Batista's tyranny, of which there were many thousands, were harassed in the U.S. by immigration authorities. The Batista clique enriched itself by outright corruption, sale of concessions and in countless other ways. The thefts ran into billions.

The Batista tyranny, as the Popular Socialist Party (the Cuban Communist Party) points out, represented a government of unconditional submission to imperialism, to the foreign banks and corporations, to the big landowners, to the big import merchants and sugar magnates and other producers. That is why the Batista government was an antinational, anti-working-class and antipeople's regime.

These forces feared the growing movement of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, and the national bourgeoisie for greater democratic freedom and for freeing themselves from the domination of U.S. imperialism which has ruled the country for the past sixty years and which today owns 70 percent of the wealth of the country.

The trade union center, the Confederation of Cuban Workers, was transformed into a government agency. The trade union leaders selected by the workers were removed from office by the government and corrupt and subservient men were designated in their places. The dictatorship ruthlessly intervened in union matters on all levels, dismissed, murdered, and imprisoned those loyal to the workers' cause.

Batista would not have been able to remain in power without the direct military aid of the U.S. State Department which supplied the guns, planes, and ammunition from the U.S. Naval base at Guatanamo and through the Dominican government.

"Our military men were advisers and trainers of the Cuban army . . . Our commanders in the area decorated the worst killers of the Cuban Army. Diplomatic and army banquets with the dictator were frequent and lavish." (Beals, *The Nation*, January 17, 1959.)

Moreover, the State Department and Ambassador E. T. Smith intervened directly in the affairs of the government and virtually dictated Batista's actions to the very end.

As Herbert Matthews writes in the New York Times, January 4, 1959:

"History will prove that the dictator did have U.S. support for much of the greater part of his second seven years as the sole ruler. The U.S. ambassadors either by inclination or under orders from the State Department were friendly to Batista and openly so. Ambassador E. T. Smith, now in Havana, also openly showed his hostility towards Fidel Castro and this is something every well-informed Cuban knows."

III. BRIEF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FACTS

U.S. imperialism has dominated the country economically and politically for more than half a century. Cuba, with a population of about six and one-half billions, is one of the largest of the Caribbean Islands and one of the wealthiest. But its wealth is largely in the hands of American banks and industrialists. "Economically Cuba is as much a part of the U.S. as if the 90-mile stretch of water between it and Key West never existed," wrote Robert M. Hallet, Latin American expert for the Christian Science Monitor in 1956.

U.S. monopolies' sales amounted to \$1,425 millions in 1953.

All raw materials and all public utilities are owned by U.S. monopolies. Three-fourths of the tillable land is in the hands of foreigners.

The sugar industry accounts for 75 percent of the income. This is controlled by 161 sugar "centrals" most of which are controlled by U.S. interests that has 75 million dollars invested in the industry. In 1952 the Cuban Atlantic Sugar Company grabbed profits equal to forty percent of its capital in 1952. Other American corporations received like sums. The lack of a real estate tax increases their profits.

The United States sets annual quotas on sugar imports from Cuba and other countries. In this way the Big Business interests exercise a stranglehold on the country since the U.S. is by far the largest buyer.

The U.S. government built and owns a one hundred million dollar nickel refinery which is exploited by the National Lead Company.

International Telephone and Telegraph Company has twenty million dollars invested and operates through its subsidiary, the Cuban Telephone Company.

Standard Oil of New Jersey has a refinery at Belot with a capacity of 35,000 barrels a day.

Wages of the Cuban workers are one-fourth of those paid in the U.S., while prices are about the same as in our country. About 500,000 Cuban workers are dependent on seasonal employment in the sugar industry.

A substantial part of the population of Cuba are Negroes.

The overwhelming majority of the people of Latin America, and this applies to Cuba, live in miserable conditions. "They are subject to a high incidence of disease, malnutrition, and illiteracy. * * * Two thirds of the people are physically undernourished." (U.S. over Latin America, International Publishers, 1955.)

The tuberculosis mortality rate in Cuba is 169.4 per 100,000. (In the U.S. in 1953 it was 12.3 per 100,000.) Based on 1954 census figures, infant mortality was 99 per 1,000 live births. (In the U.S. it was 29.)

IV. THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT—ITS CLASS COMPOSITION

The opposition to Batista began soon after his coup of March 1952. It grew in strength and embraced the vast majority of people. It was given great force by Castro who on July 26, 1953, led an attack on the Moneada army barracks in Santiago de Cuba. This was the origin of the July 26 movement by which name the Castro followers are known. This failed. Castro was captured and imprisoned but released in a general amnesty in 1954. From his exile in Mexico he organized an expedition and in 1956 landed with 90 men on the Southern coast of Oriente Province. All but a dozen were killed or captured. Castro and the few rebels went into the Sierra Maestra mountains and organized the struggle.

At first his numbers were a mere handful of youth but this gradually grew with the enrollment of workers, peasants, intellectuals, small and medium bourgeoisie. The whole youth were behind Castro and the liberation forces.

"The tyranny was overthrown because the entire people opposed Batista and his regime and fought actively for its overthrow in every possible way and on all fronts: in the armed struggles, in strikes and in the final general strike, in numerous civilian struggles, in mass struggles of the workers and farmers, by means of propaganda, by boycotting the fake elections and fighting against the entire Batista agents in the various organizations (such as the treacherous and corrupt gang of Eusibio Mujal in the trade unions). Ninety percent of the rebel forces

are composed of farmers, agricultural workers, city workers, and students of every revolutionary trend." (From the thesis of the Popular Socialist Party on the Present Situation.)

While the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie had hegemony in the movement, a decisive part was played by the working class, as the nationwide general strike indicated, and by the Communists (the Popular Socialist Party). Leading Communist trade unionists were murdered by the Batista forces.

The Popular Socialist Party was an active force in establishing a loose coalition of all liberation forces. This party has a long history of struggle against reaction and imperialism. It arose in 1925 and was in the front ranks of struggle in overthrowing the Machado dictatorship through the general strike in August 1933. Among the organizers and leaders of the party from its inception were people who embody the best traditions of struggle of the working class of Cuba, such as the organizers of the Party, Carlo Balino, friend of Jose Marti, the great Cuban liberator, and Julio Antonio Mella, Cuban youth leader and fighter against imperialism. Mella was assassinated by orders of Machado in Mexico City on January 10, 1929. Other well known leaders include Iazar Pena, tobacco workers' leaders and later general secretary of the Confederation of Labor; Blas Roca, shoe worker and Secretary of the Socialist Party; and Juan Marinello, its president, university professor and one of the great writers in the Spanish language.

The Popular Socialist Party took an active part in the struggle against the tyranny, aiding it in every way, and worked for a popular coalition government, for national independence, for democracy, economic development, social progress, and peace.

A strong contingent of party members and sympathizers belonged to the rebel forces and many of them distinguished themselves for their bravery and conduct. The party stimulated a great number of mass actions by workers and peasants which served to undermine the dictatorship (protest movements against bombings, boycott actions in the elections, strikes, etc.). It popularized the program of essential reforms, and made important contributions in spurring on the national mobilization against the Batista tyranny.

V. THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE OUTLOOK FOR THE REVOLUTION

The military victory of the Cuban revolution was complete and total. The liberation forces did not compromise with reaction but swept it out of power. They destroyed the military and police power of the old regime and power passed into the hands of the rebel forces.

The rebel government is completely democratic and is subject to no force other than the rebel army and the revolutionary and social organizations which backed the liberation movement.

The new government is free of any submission to American imperialism. The social composition of those who compose the new *government* is primarily petty bourgeoisie, representatives of the small and middle bourgeoisie, professionals, rich farmers, and small landowners.

The thesis of the Communists states that:

"Such social forces, as is well known, although they do not bow to imperialism and resist it, do not work in consistent struggle but waver in the face of economic and social measures that have to be adopted to carry forward the national liberation struggle, economic development and social progress."

"These forces limit the anti-imperialist and revolutionary orientation by their desire to maintain the capitalist system at all costs. At the same time the social support of the new government rests not only on the classes and strata which compose it but also on the farmers and workers who have given their full support to the revolution and who have their own concrete demands for fulfilling the revolution."

All this means that from the social viewpoint the new power rests on the popular forces (workers, farmers, petty bourgeoisie and the national industrial bourgeoisie). "It cannot be termed a government of revolutionary and popular coalition." (From thesis of Popular Socialist Party)

Main Communist proposals for advancement of the revolution

The Popular Socialist Party supports the new government and seeks to maintain the utmost unity against native reaction and U.S. imperialism. At the same time it strives to have the government represent more fully the coalition of forces which achieved the victory, particularly the farmers and proletariat.

In its thesis issued on January 6 the Party is pressing to "defend the revolution and to enable it to advance."

As Joseph North writes in *The Worker* (February 15, 1959), the thesis "calls for strengthening a People's Army, built around those who took arms against Batista." It urges a formal legislative confirmation of the new rights won by the people and guaranteeing those rights. It makes concrete proposals for a democratic constitution.

It proposes the immediate enactment of the agrarian law written during the revolutionary struggle and further steps to "complete agrarian reform until we end latifundism—the ownership of the vast plantations." Toward that end and to improve the conditions of the farmers the thesis emphasizes the importance of the organization of a farmers movement.

It calls for a genuinely effective policy to end race discrimination, for the restoration of education, to guarantee trade union rights and to reorganize the trade union movement on democratic lines.

It proposes measures to achieve the full sovereignty of the nation, eliminating all foreign interventionist agencies—and to end the U.S. Naval base at Guantánamo. Also to make progress toward nationalizing public services that are owned by foreign interests and to annul colonial concessions which Batista gave the imperialist monopolies "and undertake the exploitation of oil to improve the development of a national industry."

Further it calls for measures for the reconstruction of destroyed areas and for achieving a maximum sugar crop. It also proposes the strengthening of relations with the peoples of Latin America to defend their common interests and to maintain peace. Towards the same end to establish diplomatic, cultural, scientific and economic relations with Asian and African countries recently freed from colonialism and to develop trade with the socialist countries.

To achieve this program, the thesis urges the upbuilding of the Popular Socialist Party and its press and the Young Socialist organization.

VI. THE POLICY OF U.S. IMPERIALISM AFTER THE REVOLUTION

After the victory of the Castro forces, U.S. imperialism through its press began a campaign to discredit the revolutionary forces by charging the government with callous murder in its treatment of the Batista agents. By its campaign it sought to retain intact the reactionary forces in the government and also to lay the ground for possible armed intervention. At the same time it exercised pressure on rightward-leaning elements in the government, seeking to divide the ranks of the government and revolutionary forces.

This failed. The government continued to mete out revolutionary justice to the assassins of the people. It would be a mistake, however, to underestimate the power of reaction and of U.S. imperialism which still dominates the country economically. U.S. imperialism by economic, political, and possibly military pressure will seek to retain its special privileges and control of the country. It seeks to boycott Cuban industry and bring the revolutionary forces to capitulate or disastrously compromise themselves. It is also carrying on an anti-Communist campaign.

The struggle of the Cuban people to consolidate and advance the revolution will go on for some period of time, at all stages of which it will encounter the resistance of U.S. imperialism.

VII. THE TASKS OF THE CP AND THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN THE U.S.

Under these conditions great responsibility falls on the Communist Party, and all democratic forces of the U.S., in the first place labor, to aid the Cuban people and to block and nullify the efforts of U.S. imperialism to reestablish its domination of the country.

In the past our party gave substantial aid to the struggles of the Latin-American people. As William Z. Foster wrote in *History of the CPUSA*, our party was active in "organizing the All-American Anti-imperialist League in 1924 * * * gave vigorous support to August Cesar Sandino * * * and constantly kept the Latin American question before the American working class."

In recent years, however, there has been a severe decline in attention and aid to the struggles of the Latin American people. This is a great weakness in internationalism which harms the struggle of the American people.

The American labor movement and the people cannot make continuing advance if they do not fight against the oppression of the Latin American people by U.S. imperialism. On the contrary, failure to take up this struggle can only result in setbacks and defeat for labor and democracy.

The victory of the Cuban revolution, which follows on the heels of the series of revolutions in other Latin American countries, emphasizes the extreme importance of these great events for our country and for our party. Major attention must be given to rally the support of the American people behind the Cuban people.

(1) It is essential to call for resolutions, letters, and other expressions of solidarity and support to the Cuban revolution. Delegations from trade unions and people's organizations to Cuba should be encouraged.

(2) Also letters and resolutions should be addressed to President Eisenhower, to the State Department, to Congressmen and Senators protesting the support given to the Batista regime in the past and to demand no intervention in the internal affairs of Cuba.

(3) In Latin American and in Negro and white communities, efforts should be made to establish committees to aid the Cuban revolution. Such committees can push solidarity actions of various types, such as meetings, delegations, etc.

(4) It is necessary to bring the truth and meaning of the events in Cuba to the trade unions and people's organizations and to the people of the communities by means of leaflets, forums, pamphlets and by lectures and discussions in organizations.

(5) A leaflet has been issued by the State Committee. A popular pamphlet (10 cents) by Joseph North in English and one in Spanish is ready. All clubs should order and distribute this pamphlet.

Finally we urge all community and industrial clubs, sections, and counties to review work in relation to *Puerto Rican* workers and communities and to take practical measures to ensure a series of steps which will improve contacts, organization, and aid to the *Puerto Rican* people.

Reading:

- (1) Joseph North, *Cuba's Revolution: I Saw the People's Victory*, New Century Publishers.
- (2) Lazaro Pena, "The Cuban People and the Batista Tyranny," Political Affairs, February 1959.
- (3) P. Reyes, "Liberation Movement in Latin America," World Marxist Review, January 1959.
- (4) U.S. over Latin America. International Publishers.
- (5) William Z. Foster, History of the CPUSA, pages 365-367.
- (6) William Z. Foster, Outline History of the Americas.

Mr. SOURWINE. I offer, Mr. Chairman, on the question of relations between the Communist Party in Chile and the Castro regime, first an article from the New York Times of May 11, 1959, written by Tad Szulc.

Senator KEATING. It will be received.

(The article referred to follows:)

[The New York Times, May 11, 1959, p. 1]

CHILEAN RED ASKS TIES WITH CASTRO

HAILS CUBAN MOVEMENT AS WORTHY OF COLLABORATION EFFORTS BY THE PARTY

(By Tad Szulc)

SANTIAGO, CHILE, May 10.—Fidel Castro, Cuba's Premier, and his movement were described today as the best example of the "progressive bourgeoisie" with which Latin-American Communists should collaborate.

This policy line for hemisphere Communists was enunciated by Luis Corvalan, secretary general of the Chilean Communist Party, in a speech before its central committee.

"We must march with the bourgeoisie, and Cuba is the example," he declared.

His statements seeking to identify the Communists with Dr. Castro's regime came a day after 10 United States Ambassadors in South America had ended consultations here and issued a warning of an "intensified effort by international communism to undermine the unity of the hemisphere."

Cuba was not mentioned in the communiqué, but the degree of Communist infiltration in Cuba public life was discussed by the ambassadors with concern. Rey exchanged views on how best to deal with the problem.

This point was discussed even in greater detail when United States Ambassadors in Central America and the Caribbean held a similar conference in El Salvador last month.

Offering his views and those of Mao Tse-tung, Chinese Communist leader, whom he visited in Peiping in February, Señor Corvalan went far to confirm United States suspicions that the Communists were undertaking to turn the Cuban revolution to their advantage.

Five thousand party members applauded when Glen Corvalan cited the growth of Communist Parties in Colombia and Venezuela, "and especially the Cuban revolution," as important steps toward "the inevitable liberation of our countries from the Yankee yoke."

In his 2-hour report, he charged that the United States had begun an attack on democracy in Latin America, with the "Cuban revolution as the first target" of an anti-Communist campaign.

He said the meetings of U.S. Ambassadors in El Salvador and Santiago were part of this campaign. He held that the campaign would continue "with the same objectives" when the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics convened in Quito, Ecuador, next February.

The last reference interested diplomats here in the light of U.S. intelligence reports that the Communists were planning major disturbances during the Quito Conference.

Señor Corvalan said Mr. Mao had told him the Cuban revolution had dispelled the myth that "the Yankees are invincible."

According to him, Mr. Mao also said:

"Many people say the Yankees are powerful because they have the atomic bomb. But the people of Cuba did not need the bomb to overthrow their yoke. There cannot be a triumph of revolution when there is an idea of fear."

Señor Corvalan is a short man with the air of a provincial teacher. He developed another theme for Latin Communists, and again Dr. Castro was invoked.

He charged that cooperative inter-American programs for economic advancement were a plot to strengthen the U.S. domination of the hemisphere.

Last week's conference of the Committee of Twenty-one in Buenos Aires failed to produce results, he said.

Plans for a Latin common market, to be discussed this week in Panama by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, "will only lead to strengthening U.S. monopolies," he declared.

"As Fidel Castro said," he went on, "these meetings do not interest the people.

Señor Corvalan charged that the Inter-American Bank created last month, as the result of a year's insistence by Latins, would "open new fields to U.S. capitalists."

Referring to the Buenos Aires Conference, which marked a year of discussions with the United States on economic cooperation, he commented:

"In the end, the Latin-American delegates went home with empty pockets.

Mr. SOURWINE. Second, is an article from Political Affairs of March 1956, by Galo Gonzales Diaz, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile.

Senator KEATING. It will be received.

(The article referred to follows:)

[Political Affairs, March 1956]

FOSTER AND LATIN AMERICA

(By Galo Gonzales Diaz, General Secretary, C.P. of Chile)

The 75th anniversary of Comrade William Z. Foster fills the workers of North America and of the entire world with joy. This anniversary is especially celebrated by the Latin-American peoples. The long career of the Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States—the fact that he is a great leader of the working class and a profound Marxist theoretician—make of him an example for those who have placed their lives at the service of the most noble and urgent task of our epoch: to win the battle between the forces of war and those of peace. In these years when the peoples confront imperialism and open the road to Socialism, Comrade Foster has distinguished himself as an anti-imperialist fighter.

The Draft Program of the Communist Party of Chile states:

"The North American monopolies have taken possession of almost all our copper, nitrate, and iron; they run our foreign trade; they hold in their hands a part of our water power and of the distribution of electrical energy; they own the telephone service; they control the important steel industry of Huachipato, and control part of the internal trade through large distributing firms.

"The Yankee monopolies are plundering Chile; they carry off our raw material, they prevent its processing in our country, and they make fabulous profits from this.

"This plunder is increased tremendously through Yankee monopoly of our foreign trade. * * * An idea of the great losses inflicted on Chile by this monopoly can be had from the fact that during the Second World War we lost five hundred million dollars because the North American government quoted our copper at half its price."

This picture of the exploitation suffered by Chile at the hands of the North American monopolies is generally the same throughout Latin America.

As if this were not enough, in addition to economic control and parallel with it, the North American government makes us the object of pitiless political domination. With the backing of despicable traitors whom they always find at a cheap price, and in alliance with landholding and banking oligarchies, the imperialists impose upon us military pacts, international "agreements" undercutting the sovereignty of our countries, and repressive laws of every kind. Furthermore, with a systematic plan of ideological penetration, they smother our press and radio and even the universities with their reactionary propaganda; at the same time, they trample upon our culture, our republican traditions, and our national sentiments.

The contemporary history of our continent is, therefore, the record of a long chain of aggressions and acts of robbery by North American imperialism; but it is also the record of a rich, glorious and heroic struggle by our peoples to defend and extend our sovereignty, to maintain or regain our democratic forms, and to rescue our resources from the hands of the hated Wall Street monopolies. In this long struggle, our peoples have found an ally in the working class and the democratic masses of the United States; and the Communist Party of the United States has ably pointed out that we have one common, basic opponent and that we must act together in order to defeat him and get rid of his exploitation.

On the occasion of Comrade Foster's 75th birthday, we can confirm that these 75 years saw a persistent attempt by the Wall Street bosses to reduce our countries to the status of semicolonies, and even of outright colonies. But they are also 75 years of struggle by the Latin American peoples for their independence and simultaneously—even jointly, at times—struggles by the North American peoples to open up a democratic path. During these 75 years we have seen glorious figures arise in the struggles for emancipation and against fascism who today are the heroes of the common people, among them thousands of the unsung and unknown who have fallen in the streets, factories, and jails of Santiago or New York, of Mexico or Chicago, welding forever with their blood the brotherhood of Latin American and United States workers.

In accordance with the fundamental law of imperialist economy to exploit us to the maximum—and as the wave of liberation sweeping through Asia and Africa tears from imperialism tens and hundreds of millions of people—the monopolists try to compensate themselves by redoubling their economic and political penetration in Latin America. In Chile, we are being subjected to a new offensive of the exploiters, who wish to unload upon our people the full weight of the crisis. They have tried to silence popular protest with new repressive measures—many leaders of the United Workers Federation have been arrested and concentration camps have been reopened in various parts of the country.

These events highlight the exceptional significance of the judgment made by Comrade Foster in 1951 in his Outline Political History of the Americas, and since further confirmed:

"The trade unions of Latin America have a heroic record of struggle in the face of the most violent opposition from the state, the employers, and the landowners. Their honor roll is replete with the names of innumerable workers shot down and jailed in their dauntless fight to secure the necessities of life for themselves and their families from the parasitic elements who are exploiting them."

At the same time that imperialism is being fought in Latin America, no less intense nor less sustained is the struggle which the comrades of the Communist Party of the United States, with William Z. Foster at the head, are waging against the common antagonist—an antagonist which is directing its repressive blows against the North American working class with as great or greater force than upon our peoples. During the last decade, the North American monopolies have tried frantically to annihilate all democratic forms in that country; they have passed repressive laws of all kinds, have jailed or deported the most loyal sons and daughters of the working class, have persecuted all progressive groups, have persisted in a shameless policy of race discrimination, have let loose anti-Communist hysteria,

have filled tons of paper with war propaganda, have converted an important sector of industry into factories of armament and death. They have not stopped even at execution, as in the case of the immortal Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. To sum up, in seeking domination, they have overlooked nothing in their war upon democratic forms of life so beloved by the North American masses, in order to exploit them and to use them more easily for cannonfodder.

And, during some years, they achieved successes along these lines.

Nevertheless, facts prove the precarious nature of all this repressive apparatus. The struggles for peace of all the peoples of the world—headed by the U.S.S.R., the Chinese People's Republic and the People's Democracies—began to inflict most important setbacks upon imperialism's plans for war and fascism. The North American people themselves, joining the fight, have contributed in good part to the successes obtained. According to a statement made recently in Carnegie Hall in New York City of Comrade Eugene Dennis, that which five years ago was proclaimed by Communists alone, is now the belief of millions of U.S. citizens, who advocate peaceful coexistence among all peoples, an end to poverty and discrimination, and the restoration of all democratic rights guaranteed in their Constitution.

McCarthyism, already isolated within the United States and repudiated throughout the world, has begun to rot.

The working class has strengthened itself by the merger of the AFL and CIO. Several of the most reactionary candidates were defeated in the last elections. Internal pressure has become a powerful factor, which together with international factors, compelled the holding of the Geneva Conference, eased international tension and lessened the intensity of repression.

Comrade Foster, unflinching at his fighting post at the head of his Party, with the firmness characteristic of the working class, has proved during these years that a good Communist grows in moments of difficulty. Moulded in the most severe struggle, as have been all great popular leaders, Comrade Foster already at an early age knew what exploitation was, having to leave school when 13 years old and go to work. A striker at 14, socialist at 19, union organizer at 20, he proved staunch in service to his class. The Negroes, the unemployed, organized workers, women workers—all who fight for their rights have always found him at their side.

His ideological firmness led him to watch over the Marxist-Leninist line, combatting the Browder deviation which threatened the very life of his Party. After a sharp inner fight, Foster in 1945 returned to the leadership of his Party, maintaining a consistent proletarian line.

Comrade Foster's contribution to Marxist theory is as valuable as his practical Communist activity. His basic work, Outline Political History of the Americas, is a monumental contribution to the study of the history of our continent.

In its struggle, the Communist Party of Chile is inspired by the traditions and experiences of the working-class movement of our country and by the enlightening examples of the glorious and invincible Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the Chinese Communist Party, and of the others which have succeeded in ridding themselves of imperialism. Since we are interested in assimilating everything positive in the history of all peoples, we consider the Outline Political History of the Americas important not only for its correct proletarian internationalism, but also for the great wealth of experiences it offers from the North American workers' movement.

Wisely does Comrade Foster observe in this book:

"The Communist Parties of the Americas live and function in a capitalist environment; they are therefore subjected to powerful ideological as well as political pressures from the huge capitalist propaganda apparatus of the governments, schools, church, press, and controlled labor leaders. It follows that they must wage a constant struggle against these foreign influences and educate their members in the principles of Marxism-Leninism. This struggle for ideological development has been continuous since the organization of the Communist movement."

The Communists of Latin America confirm the wise words of Comrade Foster concerning the future of our national liberation movement:

"The march toward Socialism is a revolutionary march and, because of the different stages of industrial development and political history in Latin America and of the United States, the road will not be precisely the same in these two areas. * * *

"A favorable situation for a real advance toward Socialism by the workers and their allies could develop swiftly in the Americas. Latin America is in an explosive state, and profound revolutionary mass movements may be expected there before long. As for the United States, the last great stronghold of world capitalism, it, too, is by no means invulnerable to mass advances toward Socialism.

"Fifty years ago capitalism was triumphant throughout the world and the Communists were but a small minority among the huge ranks of the masses; but today capitalism is visibly rotting, and the Communists are leading 800 million people into Socialism. This is the way the world in general is going, and this is the route, too, of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere. The great historical process that has gone on in the Americas for more than four and a half centuries since Columbus landed in the West Indies, does not lead to the fascist Yankee-dominated world of Wall Street, but to the new free world of Socialism."

Mr. SOURWINE. I should like to ask the witness, from your knowledge of Communist affairs and operations, can you state whether a piece in Political Affairs by the Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile would necessarily represent the current Communist line?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Oh, yes; that is a directive.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I have one other article by Tad Szulc. This appeared in the New York Times of May 15, 1959, and refers to an alleged Communist plot in Ecuador.

May that also be offered for the record?

Senator KEATING. It will be received.

(The newspaper article referred to follows:)

[New York Times, Friday, May 15, 1959, p. 4]

REDS IN ECUADOR ACCUSED OF PLOT

PARTY IS REPORTED PLANNING TO SABOTAGE HEMISPHERE PARLEYS IN FEBRUARY

(By Tad Szulc)

(Special to the New York Times)

QUITO, ECUADOR, May 14.—The Ecuadorian Communist Party is preparing a campaign to discredit and if possible disrupt the conference of American foreign ministers to be held here next February.

It is part of Communist strategy aimed at isolating the United States from Latin America.

The Communist plans which were first drawn up in outline in a secret resolution of the party's central committee last December, are now developed in detail and are expected to include acts against a meeting of the presidents of the hemisphere nations near Guayaquil, Ecuador, immediately after the foreign ministers' parley.

PROPOSAL GAINS APPROVAL

Ecuador proposed a Western Hemisphere summit conference last week and the idea appears as to have gained acceptance among the governments.

The preparation of the Communist campaign against the inter-American conference in Quito—evidently one of the top current Communist objectives in the hemisphere—has been accompanied by increased Communist activities in Ecuador in recent months.

Ecuadorian authorities report a clandestine but substantial flow of Communist propaganda into the country. Only this week a shipment of 8,500 Communist propaganda books for the indoctrination of children arrived here from Mexico, which is one of the main hemisphere centers for distribution of this type of material.

ARMS CARGOES ARRIVE

According to a Government source, several shipments of arms believed to be destined for Communist groups or groups with Communist connections arrived in Ecuador in February.

Ecuadorian intelligence reports also indicated four Cuban Communist leaders either arrived or were about to arrive in Ecuador to assist the small Ecuadorian Communist party in coordinating its new activities, presumably including plans against the foreign ministers' conference.

In the view of the President Camilo Ponce Enríquez, all these activities suggest that Ecuador has become "one of communism's prime targets in South America."

In an interview yesterday, President Ponce said that the Government was on the alert and that he believed it could handle any situation, including whatever difficulties the Communists might cause on the occasion of the conference.

Dr. Ponce said one of the reasons for Communist interest in Ecuador was that the nation of 4 million inhabitants was an island of stability in a restless South American Continent. Indeed, in 3 years of democratic administration by Dr. Ponce, a moderate Conservative, Ecuador has enjoyed remarkable political stability, made some economic gains and became virtually the only South American republic to have escaped inflation and currency depreciation.

ELECTIONS SLATED IN JUNE

With presidential elections scheduled for June 1960, the political atmosphere is certain to become more turbulent.

As the foreign ministers' conference will be held only a few months before the elections, the Communists may seek to capitalize on political tension to sabotage the parley.

The party's secret directive, prepared at the central committee's meeting in Guayaquil December 6 through 8, was intercepted by the Ecuadorian Government but not made public thus far. It ordered the executive committee of the party's central committee to "prepare a detailed work plan for amplification of this resolution."

The directive orders that there be "coordination of action of the Communist Parties of Latin American countries and of the Communist Party of the United States for the campaign against the conference.

The ground work for this coordination was done in February in Moscow, when Latin American Communist leaders met there for the 21st congress of the Soviet party. There has been subsequent consultation through frequent but brief visits here by Latin American and European Communist agents, who, according to President Ponce, have been coming to Ecuador in increasing numbers.

Mr. SOURWINE. I should like to show this to the witness.

I believe you have read it. Have you read that article by Mr. Tad Szulc?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes; I am generally familiar with it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that evidence, Mr. Kornfeder, of the integration of units of the Communist Party operations in Latin America?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes. This is the result of a conference held by Communist leaders in South America, and it contains some of their decisions.

As I said before, they hold these conferences periodically for a tactical checkup of their operations. This was one of them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I hold here an article, a photostat of an article, from Political Affairs of June 1959, and the title of the article is "A Program for Cuba." The writer of the article is not identified except by the initials "N.C., Popular Socialist Party."

Does what you said earlier with regard to an article in Political Affairs apply also with regard to this article, Mr. Kornfeder; by reason of its publication in Political Affairs it would necessarily represent a Communist directive of the current Communist line?

Mr. KORNFEDER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. On that basis, Mr. Chairman, it may be offered for the record.

Senator KEATING. It will be received.

(The article referred to follows:)

[Political Affairs, June 1959]

A PROGRAM FOR CUBA

(By N. C., Popular Socialist [Party])

Monopoly capitalism in the United States, having enchain'd the Cuban people for sixty years, and having maintained in power there puppet dictators like Machado and Batista of unspeakable brutality and colossal corruption, fears that the success of the recent revolution will really free Cuba. As part of the monopolists' campaign to cou-

tinue Cuba's enslavement, there has developed in all the propaganda media in the United States horror stories about the alleged "infiltration" of Communists into Cuban life and the terrible plans of these awful Communists. In the pages that follow, readers will find—for the first time in English—the full suggested program for Cuba recently put forth by the valiant Marxists-Leninists of that Republic; they will see from this why the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba is honored with the special hatred of Wall Street.—The Editor.

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND FOREIGN POLICY

1. Absolute recovery of the national sovereignty and inviolable defense of the independence, integrity, and honor of our country. Eliminations of all intentions to submit to orders, pressure, and influence of foreign imperialists. To confirm the aspirations and determination of Cuba to attain its economic independence by virtue of the administration of its own resources and the promotion of its own economy on a developed and progressive level. Liquidation of the control, intervention and interference in our internal affairs by the embassy, consulates, and other missions that the U.S. keeps in Cuba.

2. Reintegration to Cuban sovereignty of the territory occupied by the U.S. Naval Base in Guantanamo, as well as cancelling the leasing or concession to any outside power of national territory for the construction of land, sea, or air bases.

3. Denunciation and cancellation of all treaties, agreements, and accords in as much as they deny, undermine, or restrict the independence and sovereignty of the nation or are contrary to its best interests.

4. Annulment of the colonialist concessions (Canal Via-Cuba, King Ranch, Boa Bay Company, oil concerns, etc.) which undermine the national sovereignty and are counter to the free economic development of Cuba.

5. Immediate nationalization of Public Service enterprises (Compania Cubana de Electricidad, Cuban Telephone Company, railways, aviation, port facilities, etc.) and of foreign banks with the aims, among others, of cutting their exploitation through shares and also in order to reduce their service charges for the sake of the national economic development.

Recovery, for the national patrimony, of all lands, reservations and mine projects owned by foreign businesses or individuals.

6. Protection of enterprises not nationalized, and even though not Cuban owned, which respect the sovereignty and the interests of our nation, obey the laws and cooperate with the national democratic power in promotion of the national economy. On the contrary, foreign businesses and enterprises, even though not of a public service character, that attack or conspire against our sovereignty, protect or finance counter-revolutionaries, violate our social rules and sabotage the national economy, shall be interfered with or nationalized.

7. A foreign policy based on the faithful observance of the following principles: defense of our national independence; defense of world peace and cooperating towards this fulfillment by means of solving international conflicts through negotiations, the prohibition of nuclear weapons, halting of the armaments race and gradual disarmament; peaceful coexistence; nonaggression and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all nations; noninterference in the affairs of other states; support of all peoples struggling for national liberation and for the rights of every nation to build freely its self-determination; and to establish trade and friendly relations with all nations on the basis of mutual benefit and equality. With these principles and considerations as a starting point, Cuba must develop a double course of action:

A. Renegotiating its diplomatic and trade relations with the U.S.A. so as to alter the status quo not favorable to the national interest; and B, Maintaining or establishing diplomatic and commercial and cultural relations with all countries capable of treating Cuba as equal to equal, including the countries of the Socialist camp, such as the U.S.S.R., the People's Republic of China, and all popular democracies in general. With particular interest Cuba should carry out a policy of solidarity, friendship and cooperation with the sister republics of Latin America.

8. Adoption of all means to proscribe and to punish war propaganda.

AGRARIAN REFORM

9. Solution of the agrarian reform problem, based on the expropriation of all lands belonging to big landowners; elimination of "Latifundism" and farm rentals and other remnants of Feudalism; also, the partition and delivery of expropriated

and government lands free of charge to the peasants and farm workers who own little or no land and who desire to cultivate the same. - Each peasant or farm worker benefiting from the partition of land shall receive a property deed covering the piece of land received. On the same basis, all lands heretofore occupied by other impoverished peasants shall receive the corresponding legal title. In like fashion, all members, temporarily in the armed forces and who are of peasant stock, shall have the right to participate in the land partition. As a transitory measure and as long as present sugar producing conditions prevail, those lands belonging to latifundists and other sugar companies actually planted with sugarcane so indispensable for milling, such lands shall not be expropriated or shared out, except those lands which had been handed, rented or given to peasants or sharecroppers—in which case they will come under the conditions of landsharing. All persons of foreign extraction who have resided and raised families within our national territory, will have the right to possession of land under the same conditions covering Cuban citizens.

10. The maximum amount of land possessed by a peasant will be fixed by law considering the location and quality of such land, but in no case will it be more than "thirty" (30) caballerias ($33\frac{1}{3}$ acres). On this basis middle income and rich owners will have a legal guarantee—as will the poor landowners—of the property they shall possess.

11. Abolition of sharecropping (aparceria) and of all forms of semifuedal exploitation of the peasantry.

12. Revision of all debts, particularly the onerous and unjust debts the peasantry have contracted with the latifundists, sugar mills, speculators, stock merchants, and other imperialist enterprises. Cancellation of the debts the peasants owe the state because of taxation.

13. Rights to permanency as well as reduction of rentals to peasants who lease land while the renting system is in effect.

14. To afford all peasants, farm workers and all other peasants that may need them, with such facilities as farm animals, equipment for such animals, etc., as well as low-paying, long-term loans towards the purchase of machinery, seed, fertilizer, insecticides, dwelling construction, wells, etc. To make sure that cheap transportation is provided for these farm products. The National Government will organize ample technical help to the peasants, and will promote among them the necessary spirit to collectively exploit the land through the organization of voluntary cooperatives.

15. Construction of irrigation systems, country lanes, warehouses, cold storage stations, driers, coffee and rice peelers, etc., with the purpose of satisfying the needs of the peasants and to develop Cuban agriculture. Protection of forests plus ample reforestation. Steps against erosion and in favor of soil conservation, as well as filling of swampy regions. The creation of experimental stations so as to help the peasants to improve the quality of their seeds, their methods of cultivation, their assorted livestock, etc.

16. Organization of an official corporation whose aim shall be to receive and store the peasants' products and to assure them stable and remunerative prices so as to eliminate speculative warehouse grabbers and all sorts of exploiting middlemen and thus facilitating and assuring the peasants of prompt and satisfactory sale of their crops. This will, in the meantime, prevent middlemen from speculating so as to protect the large consuming masses.

INDEPENDENT PROTECTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

17. Liberty of initiative for industry, agriculture and domestic trade based on the defense of the national economy and the sound interests of the people.

18. Control of banking credits to mobilize inactive capital and to concentrate all national resources so as to change the semicolonial and semifuedal structure of the Cuban economy thus protecting, developing and diversifying the industry and agriculture of the nation. Benefits and protection shall be guaranteed to private capital investments within the law.

19. Defense and promotion of industry and agriculture with a view towards the needs of the country and its complete independence, and towards the elimination of the single crop and of economic backwardness. Development of heavy industry in conformity with the possibilities and resources of the nation.

All categories of tariff protection (import quotas, reduction or extension of imposts, subsidies, etc.) as regards the national production in the face of outside competition. Prohibition or restriction on the importation of such goods and products which mean an unnecessary drainage on the shares of our economy, which obstruct the development of our industry or agriculture or may jeopardize the creation of new national sources of production and employment.

20. Development, under the direction of the government, of sugar by-products such as alcohol, cattle feed, several chemical products, paper matter, etc. In general, to get the most out of the sugar industry so as to extend to as large a degree as possible the work in the mills and farms and to reduce to the minimum any waste of time.

21. National development of oil wells, without intervention of imperialist monopolies, with the aim of guaranteeing to the nation, under safe conditions and low prices, the necessary fuel for its industrial and agricultural growth.

22. Revision and ruling of commercial relations with all countries on the basis of selling what we produce and purchasing what we need for our development and our consumption, from any part of the globe without undermining the economy and independence of our country. Annulment of sugar policies inspired by the onerous Chadbourne Plan of the past and by the London accord of the present, which forces unilateral restriction of the Cuban production, adopting instead a new line of action to disavow the said unilateral restriction, a line that is based primarily on the national interest and not on that of the large North American sugar monopolies.

23. Measures with the aim to protect small-time industrialists vis-a-vis the monopolists and grab-bags as well as the promotion of cooperatives of artisans and shopkeepers. Among these measures we point out the following: Government aid, credit concessions, facilities towards the acquisition of machinery, tools, raw materials, plus organizing a corporation with the purpose of storage, distribution and sales of the products.

24. Protection and development of the fishing industry with particular aid to small and petit-bourgeois fishermen by means of credits, delivery of equipment and boating, establishment of cold storage, fish-drying places, fisherman cooperatives, etc.

25. Promotion of the merchant marine, both coastal and overseas, employing for this purpose whatever resources might be necessary.

26. A tax reform to eliminate indirect imposts which burden our people, and to rely on progressive and direct taxing on revenue to facilitate and propel the national economy forward. Price control and measures to be taken against inflation and in favor of the national currency.

27. A planned national economy, which, with this program as a basis and without losing sight of the limitations within the existing economic system, will fix the general steps to be followed in the maximum development of industry and agriculture and the full economy of the nation.

28. The country, based upon the inescapable letter of the law and respect for our national interests, will be permitted to utilize the help of foreign capital assets or offers in good faith without strings attached made by countries and other international organizations in order to develop industrialization and the independent growth of the national economy.

ON IMPROVEMENT OF THE WORKING-CLASS CONDITIONS AND OF THE PEOPLE IN GENERAL

29. Fulfillment of the social benefits earned by the workers and crystallized in the 1940 Constitution. Development and extension of social security legislation favorable to the working class and to include farmers and civil employees within its benefits.

30. Fixing a livable minimum salary, that is, increasing the wages to a level that will guarantee minimum living conditions to all workers within the national territory. Increase of salaries and pensions. To effectively apply the principle of "equal wages for equal labor" regardless of sex, age, race, or nationality.

31. Effective application of the eight-hour day as concerns all workers and of the 44-hour week with 48-hour payments, plus the progressive establishment of the 40-hour week. A six-hour day for those who work in mines, places or trades that are unhealthy as well as for those who are under 18 years of age.

32. To forbid outright the discharge of workers or employees because of social or political reasons or because of unilateral decisions of management.

33. Effective guarantees of the right of workers to collective bargaining with management, and obligation of the state to acknowledge and to supervise the punctilious fulfillment of same.

34. Protection of all workers against rushing tactics employed by the exploiters within the productive process.

35. Enforcement and extension of assistance and social security benefits for which management and state are responsible, so that pensions and other benefits concerning sickness, old age, accident, disability, or death be improved substantially and may cover all workers and employees, both public and private

as well as their relatives, without exception. Extension of maternity benefits to all workers, both industrial and farming and to all public and private employees.

36. Monthly subsidies to the unemployed in sufficient amounts to take care of their urgent needs of shelter, food and clothing.

37. Full recognition of syndical democracy plus guarantees to the right of the workers to organize and to elect freely their officers without any interference on the part of the government or any other public or private organization, the right to hold meetings, organize the May First parade and to strike as many times as is deemed necessary, because of demands, solidarity matters and boycotts.

38. Participation of democratically elected labor leaders in the regulating organizations of the sugar, tobacco, coffee, livestock and other branches of industry. These representatives would be under obligation of regularly giving an account of their functions to their rank and file.

39. A law to organize and guarantee on-the-job training within the various branches of production and to assure jobs to our working youth.

40. Free medical assistance to all workers and employees in factories, shops, mills, plantations, offices and other working places, at the expense of management and the state (Government).

41. Reduction in prices of popular items and services such as food, clothing, things for hire, medicinal goods, transportation, etc., in order to improve the standard of living of the working class and the general public.

42. Construction of healthy, low-income housing for workers, employees and for the people in general.

43. Creation of a bank for loans in order to facilitate low interest loans to workers, employees, etc., who may need them, with the aim of eliminating the limitless exploitation and outrages exercised by "speculators" and money lenders.

ON THE RIGHTS OF OUR CITIZENS AND OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

44. Complete resurrection, effective enforcement and consistent application of the 1940 Constitution, which resulted from the agreement among all the social forces and trends of the country. Only the peoples and their legitimate representatives have the right to amend it—within the norms established by its own text—when the popular and national interests dictate it, so as to improve same and to make it more efficient as an instrument of the national sovereignty, of the economic development and of the fullest guarantee of the rights of the people and of the working class.

45. Abolition of all laws, decrees, dispositions and measures that deny, adulterate or restrict the democratic rights and liberties stated within the Constitution, among which stand out the confiscations and raids of democratic and workers printing shops, the so-called dispositions against Communism, the outlawing of the P.S.P. and other political movements, brutal police persecutions and tortures, the existence of emergency tribunals, the so-called Certificate of Passport enforcement, the concentration of power in the hands of the Government Ministry to deny and grant permits for meetings, public activities, etc.

As a result, full enforcement of the democratic rights and public liberties, will be established for everyone. There will be special guarantees to provide the workers and the general public with material means to exercise freedom of speech, press, radio broadcasting, assembly, association, striking, public meetings, etc. Binding respect for freedom of education, for choosing a profession, for the inviolability of the home and the right to correspond through the mail. Guarantees for the free political organization of all citizens.

46. Abolition of SIM, BRAC, BIP, SIN, the SIR and other undemocratic organs of torture and repression. Cleaning out of all armed elements who beat, torture, kill, and agents of imperialism and enemies of the workers, peasants and of the general public. Abolition of the Military Act.

47. The armed forces shall be an exclusive instrument for the defense of the country, the liberty and integrity of the motherland, a citizens' guarantee, of the public will and of the observance of the Constitution and the Democratic Laws.

48. Effective establishment of the semiparliamentary system as stated in the Constitution, with a President who fully represents the national solidarity, a Prime Minister who will direct political affairs and a Council of Ministers approved by Congress and fully responsible to this body.

49. Constituting a National Liberation Democratic Government, integrated by the working class, the peasants, the petty-bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie, the one and only government that would be capable to apply consistently and to the very end the program of the Salvation, the Progress and the Liberty of Cuba, and of the Public Welfare.

The close-knit alliance of the workers and the peasants shall be the foundation of such a government.

The leadership of the working class is essential for its success.

50. Election of Senators through proportional representation or election by virtue of receiving the largest number of direct votes among all the candidates of the different parties.

Democratization and perfecting of the election system so that we can effectively bring about the cooperation of the parties in the fulfillment of the common program promised or agreed to.

Extension of the voting right to young peoples from the age of 18 (eighteen) and to members of the armed forces.

51. Rigidly observed administrative morality maintained from top to bottom, from the President of the Republic to the most modest employee and functionary.

Reduction in the cost of the maintenance of the nation by virtue of the sensible lowering of the incomes of the high functionaries and Congressmen.

Elimination of imposts (exactions) which victimize small merchants, traders, shopkeepers, milkmen, small-time peasant producers, etc., the culprits being inspectors, officers, police agents, functionaries and other agents of the public service.

52. Assurance of the lay Cuban tradition, which established separation of Clergy and State since the inception of the Republic. The fullest religious freedom shall be guaranteed, and the government shall defend the citizens' right to embrace the religion of his or her preference or the right not to follow any religion.

MEASURES TO INSURE RACIAL EQUALITY

53. An Educational and Sanctions Law against racial discrimination and practical application to eradicate this evil, both within the economic and social (employment, standard of living, wages, housing, culture and developing areas), as well as in the political: (the right to employment within the public service administration, within the armed forces, within the diplomatic corps, etc.).

54. Guarantee of full equality to women and of their participation among all political, social and economic fields on the same level as men. Protection of the home, of motherhood and of infants. Development of a system of child care and nurseries so as to insure attention for children whose mothers may work in factories, offices, etc.

NATIONAL AND POPULAR EDUCATION

55. A General Reform Law for learning based on the tradition of liberty, democracy, civics and progressiveness of our people. Assurance of free, compulsory primary education with the necessary increase of teachers and school buildings throughout the country. Development of technological and specialized learning with a popular character and aimed at meeting the needs of the industrial and agricultural progress of the country. The state shall assure school supplies in abundance to primary schools as well as books and tools for study work at reduced prices to students of secondary, technical, and university levels. Enrollment costs shall be substantially reduced, an ample fund for free enrollments shall be organized and housing and dining facilities shall also be created for needy students or those of modest resources. The state shall provide employment to those young graduates from secondary, technical and higher educational institutions. Protection and promotion of the national culture, defense and extension of its patriotic and progressive traditions while struggling against imperialist influence and penetration. Encouragement to the development of Arts and Sciences, by virtue of protecting scientists, intellectuals, artists; also aid to scientific research, libraries, the theater, music, plastics, the cinema, television, radio and other media of scientific and artistic expression with the purpose of elevating their quality, to invigorate their national outlook, and in addition, to place them at the service of the people and on behalf of the advancement of the motherland.

OTHER MEASURES TO BENEFIT THE POPULATION

56. Protection and encouragement of sports and the physical development of the people. Construction of stadiums, sports centers, gymnasias, etc., at the service of our young folks with the aim of providing sound sports rid of commercialism and discrimination, so as to contribute to their physical growth and to keep them away from vice and corruption.

57. To carry out the necessary services towards the construction of sewerage, aqueducts, etc., for the many towns that are in need of them. Development of an ample network of hospitals, health resorts, dispensaries and shelter homes, with

adequate medical supplies, in order to serve the whole population of the country. Creation of mobile sanitary units for fight against parasitic and other diseases in the rural zones. The extension of state maternity benefits to assist and aid all women who are not covered by the labor maternity social security, and toward this objective the number of existing maternal hospitals shall be increased.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no further questions to ask this witness.

Senator KEATING. Thank you very much, Mr. Kornfeder, and allow me to express the gratitude of the committee to you, and other former Communists, who are prepared to admit that they were fooled, so candidly. You have been very helpful to us in our work here on the subcommittee, and we are very appreciative and only wish that there were more who were prepared to do the same thing and be cooperative with us in the work that we are trying to do.

Mr. KORNFEDER. Thank you, Senator.

(Whereupon, at 12:40 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

A P P E N D I X

COMMUNIST ANTI-AMERICAN RIOTS—MOB VIOLENCE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF RED DIPLOMACY¹

INTRODUCTION

Within the last 15 years, Communists have staged a series of anti-American riots in Latin America. Since these actions have done serious injury to the United States and to its relations with Latin American nations, and since there is every likelihood of the recurrence of these riots, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has deemed it advisable to direct a staff study of these demonstrations with a view to determining the techniques employed and the purposes sought. For the most part, reliance has been placed upon the press reports of events as they occurred, analyzed and interpreted in the light of known Communist techniques and theory. The analysis deals with the following anti-American riots: April 10, 1948, in Bogotá, Colombia; March 13, 1958, in Caracas, Venezuela; and March 3, 1959, at La Paz, Bolivia.

The traditions of American diplomacy are predicated upon peaceful negotiation with duly authorized representatives of other nations on the basis of solemn agreements and treaties, in accord with international law and usage. Our international relations do not contemplate and seldom anticipate efforts to force the hand of governments through mob action manipulated by trained Soviet agents. It is with this new and serious feature of the present cold war, which must be faced by the United States, that this study deals.

The first operation we propose to examine is the rioting which occurred on April 9 and 10, 1948, in Bogotá, Colombia.

THE PLOT TO TORPEDO THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE

PREPARING THE GROUND

The Ninth Inter-American Conference, including 21 American Republics, was called for March 30, 1948, for the purpose of adopting a charter reaffirming the solidarity of the American states, pledging the member nations to mutual defense and resistance to the threat of international communism. The New York Times, of January 10, 1948, first announced that Gen. George C. Marshall, then Secretary of State, would attend this meeting. A draft of a basic agreement on inter-American cooperation prepared by the Economic and Social Council of the Pan American Union was released by the Department of State on February 25, 1948. Almost immediately the combined forces of the Latin American Communist apparatus went into high gear in opposition to the Conference. This was disclosed by testimony given by Adm. R. H. Hillenkoetter, then Chief of the Central Intelligence Agency, before a House Subcommittee on Executive Expenditures, to which he presented intercepts from Communist sources which he had included in admonitory dispatches sent by him to the State Department well in advance of the Conference.

"JANUARY 2, 1948.—At present there is no real opportunity for the Communist Party to demonstrate against the imperialist program of the United States, but a vigorous anti-imperialist campaign has been prepared for the Pan-American Conference and will be launched shortly before the Conference convenes in March."²

"JANUARY 23.—Mr. X, in charge of drafting the policy of the Communist Party in Colombia, made the following comment: 'The Pan-American Conference will be a capitalistic, imperialistic conference. Attempts should be made to block

¹ This document, a staff study by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, was ordered into the record at a subsequent subcommittee meeting.

² New York Times, Apr. 16, 1948, p. 6.

the progress of the Conference, but this should not be known as a Communist activity. The party should refrain from open activity and avoid a situation which would result in curtailment of the party's functions." ³

Admiral Hillenkoetter disclosed also the backing given by the Soviet Legation to Dr. Jorge Eliecer Gaitan, popular Liberal Party leader of Colombia, whose assassination set off the April 9-10 rioting. The dispatch declared:

"JANUARY 29.—Mr. G., the leading Colombian Communist, who has been given the task of overthrowing the Perez (Conservative) government, boasts that he can count on planes and artillery when necessary. In Bogotá this group had allegedly stored arms and explosives in 17 houses. Mr. G. is also reported the intermediary between the Soviet Legation personnel and Gaitan, to whom he furnished money, supposedly for his Liberal movement." ³

It is the practice of Communist organizations to spend considerable effort in preliminary organized preparations for proposed riots. Reliance is not placed upon spontaneity or accidental circumstances. Mass sentiment is whipped up. Organizations and party members are carefully mobilized. Here is Admiral Hillenkoetter's dispatch of February 2 by way of illustration:

"FEBRUARY 2.—The working plan of the Communist Party of Colombia for the period February 15 to July 29 outlines the following tasks: Organization of public mass meetings; organization of 60 meetings of cells in outlying districts; recruiting new members for the party; the organization of 15 syndicates in unions; the organization of party cells in all syndicates (unions) not already organized; the distribution of 50,000 handbills; the putting up of 3,000 posters during the Pan-American Conference." ²

The above-described preparations necessitated the most careful supervision by a duly appointed committee of the Colombian Communist Party, as described in another dispatch:

"MARCH 16.—A Communist committee has been appointed to watch preparations for the Pan-American Conference." ³

According to preliminary reports received by the State Department prior to the Inter-American Conference, there were indications of molestations against Conference delegates, sabotage and efforts to destroy the prestige of the gathering and its participants. A March 30 dispatch declared:

"The Colombian Communist Party has agreed upon a program of agitation and molestation against the United States, Chilean, Brazilian, and Argentine delegations to the Pan-American Conference * * * imperialist delegations must carry away with them an impression of failure and loss of prestige." ³

A few days prior to the April 9-10 riot, the Communist-controlled Latin American Confederation of Labor (CTAL), headed by Vicente Lombardo Toledano, adopted resolutions in Mexico City, roundly condemning the Inter-American Conference.⁴

It was also disclosed that as early as March 24, 1948, Dr. Gaitan had been publicly warned by U.S. Ambassador to Bogotá, Willard L. Beaulac, that the Communists would seek to break up the Conference and try to place the blame on the Liberals.⁵

Incidentally it should be noted that the Colombian Communist Party claimed a strength of 10,000 out of a population of about 11 million. They control the Colombian Federation of Labor, which is the dominant labor federation of the country.⁴

WARNINGS UNHEEDED

The reaction of the representatives of the United States to these timely warnings was typical of our official disregard and contempt for the power of Communist mass agitation. O. J. Libert, State Department aid in Bogotá, and Ambassador Willard L. Beaulac were charged by Admiral Hillenkoetter with failure to forward these messages to the State Department in Washington. Mr. Libert vetoed sending the warning to Secretary Marshall's security officers because he thought Bogotá police protection "adequate," and he did not wish to "alarm the delegates unduly."⁵ Former Secretary of State George C. Marshall was quoted by the State Department press officer, Lincoln White, as saying in the course of some "salty remarks" that it was "quite ridiculous to suppose that the 21 American Republics should even consider being intimidated by the protestations of one kind or another from Communists, or anyone else."

Meanwhile the Communists simply waited for the most propitious moment to strike.

² New York Times, Apr. 16, 1948, p. 6.

³ Ibid.

⁴ U.S. News & World Report, Apr. 23, 1948, pp. 13, 14.

⁵ New York Times, Apr. 16, 1948, p. 6.

THE ASSASSINATION OF JORGE E. GAITAN

The subcommittee is in possession of a copy of a letter from Bernardo Ibanez, Chilean president of the Inter-American Confederation of Workers, to Serafino Romualdi, secretary of international relations of the same organization and inter-American representative of the AFL-CIO. This letter describes in detail the events of the fatal April 9. We quote from excerpts published in the Inter-American Labor News for May 1948. Mr. Ibanez had an appointment with Jorge E. Gaitan, whom he pictured as "a young lawyer, only 47 years old, he had been one of the candidates in the past presidential elections and was at the time the first choice to succeed the Chief Executive" of Colombia.

Mr. Ibanez relates Gaitan's dealings with the Communists as follows:

"Notwithstanding the fact that the Communists surrounded him with friendliness and flattery, Gaitan maintained an independent and firm attitude with them, as he stated publicly on the eve of the inauguration of the IX Pan-American Conference. In those days there was talk in Bogotá that disturbances would occur and that the stage was being set to sabotage the Conference. Gaitan hastened to determine who was responsible and denounced the planned provocations as acts against democracy and the unity of the Americas. He stated his repudiation of such acts."

Mr. Ibanez arranged an interview with Mr. Gaitan for Friday, April 9 at 5 p.m. However, as Gaitan was leaving his office in the Nieto Building at 1:05 p.m. of the same day, he was hit by four bullets from a revolver fired by an unidentified person who was immediately torn to pieces by an infuriated crowd, making identification impossible. That was the spark which set off the ensuing conflagration. It was the moment for which the Communists had been waiting.

In commenting upon the assassination, Mr. Ibanez declared significantly:

"Both the personality of Dr. Gaitan and the circumstances surrounding his assassination force me to think that the events that took place correspond precisely to the method of crime and provocation peculiar to the Russians. They needed an appropriate victim who could prevent the holding of the Conference, and they selected the most prominent person, Dr. Gaitan."

Colombian President Ospina Perez in a communique declared that Dr. Gaitan had been "killed by a person apparently of Communist affiliation."⁶

Congressman Donald J. Jackson of California was in Bogotá at the time as an observer for the American Government at the Ninth Conference of American States. Here is his comment on the assassination:

"Whether or not the assassination of the liberal leader and idol, Jorge Gaitan, was an act of the Communists, a disgruntled Liberal, or the Conservative administration itself will probably never be known, so rapid was the action by which the assassin was hauled through milling mobs and lynched within sight of thousands * * * It is enough to know that the shots fired by his hand not only gave the signal for one of the most violent uprisings in the history of the Western Hemisphere, but, what is more important, gave the United States and the other Republics of the continent a closeup view of what any country can expect in the face of organized mob violence."⁷

THE CONFLAGRATION BURSTS FORTH

We present the views of various trained observers on the scene regarding the methods by which the Communists exploited the indignation of the people of Bogotá over the assassination of Gaitan, how they utilized the occasion to disrupt the Inter-American Conference and whip up anti-American hysteria and acts of violence against American property and individuals. This will give a broad composite picture.

First we present Mr. Ibanez' story of how the Communists carried out their well-laid plans:

"Fifteen minutes after the attack on Gaitan, all the radio broadcasting stations in Bogotá were taken over by the Communists through workers and students. The radio stations were inciting the people to revolt against the Government, against the Conference, against Yankee imperialism, etc. Precise instructions were being issued to plunder arms deposits, hardware stores and gunsmiths' shops, the department stores, the Government buildings; the police precincts, and the army barracks. An hour later the crowd, instigated by the Communists, invaded the capitol or Parliament Building, where the Pan-American Conference was being held, destroying the luxurious equipment with which it had been

⁶ New York Times, Apr. 10, 1948, p. 1.

⁷ Congressional Record, Apr. 15, 1948, p. 4559.

furnished. But the incident that attracted my attention most was the fact that the rioters concentrated on the destruction of the offices of the Chilean and U.S. delegations. In my opinion this was due to the firm anticommunistic attitude of these two delegations. The Chilean and U.S. flags were trampled upon by the crowd, while the documents, typewriters, file cabinets, etc., were being destroyed or plundered."

Mr. Ibanez concludes with this estimate of the events which took place:

"The orders that were given to the people, the propaganda carried over the radio broadcasts, the method of plundering to be put into practice, the unusual activity shown by the Soviet Embassy during the first moments of the events, etc., all prove that this assassination was a coldblooded and ferocious international act of incitement conducted by the Russians on the weak democracy of Colombia, against the interests of the people of the Americas. Something I was able to witness personally was the well-planned organized yelling of the crowds against President Gonzalez Videla of my country. I heard it from different groups of paraders led by Communists."⁸



Jiménez de Quesada, in the center of the city, where some of the worst fighting of the revolt took place. Electric trolley wires were ripped down and private passenger cars—including several vehicles owned by the American Embassy—destroyed or stolen. At extreme left above is the Government Palace, which mobs looted and set ablaze.

Life magazine, April 26, 1948, page 27.

Juan C. Lara, vice president of the Confederation of Workers, who resides in Bogotá, described the events following the assassination of Dr. Gaitán as follows:

"Then began the radio's imprecations against the Government. They cried in the streets. Transportation was suspended. Since it was luncheon hour all commercial establishments were closed, and normal activities suspended. No

⁸ Inter-American Labor News, May 1948, p. 2.

one took care of order or requests. There were ears only for the calls for disorder and the fall of the Government, public disorder and civil war.

"In such a combustible general state, the Communists obtained charge of some broadcasting stations giving orders to assault the hardware stores, places of sale of armed ammunition, and all places where there were possibilities of obtaining destructive weapons in order to organize the 'popular militia.' First the Liberal students and with them some Communists took the National Radio of Colombia and used it as the center of agitation against the National Government, and then as a station for transmitting plainly Communist information. It was possible to hear over the air the fight between the Communists and the students for control of the station, but the armed Communists forced the students to retire. Then the National Radio transmitted orders with names to persons and places in the country. Among other orders there were those to assault, in additions to weapons, living persons. Thus commenced the sacking of all business places at about 4 in the afternoon.

* * * * *

"The burnings commenced during the first hours, more as a gesture of protest than as an end in themselves. Nevertheless, there are grave indications, if one studies which were the buildings burned. These were, in the afternoon of Friday the 9th: The Ministry of National Education (in which I work), the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Palace of the Government of Cundinamarca, the Palace of Justice, the apostolic headquarters, the Ministry of the Government, the Episcopal Palace, the building of the newspaper El Siglo, the detective headquarters, and the identification section for natives and foreigners."⁹

Let us call as the next witness Congressman Donald J. Jackson as he relates how the "organized Red leadership has bared its teeth in an expression of riot, pillage, and slaughter":

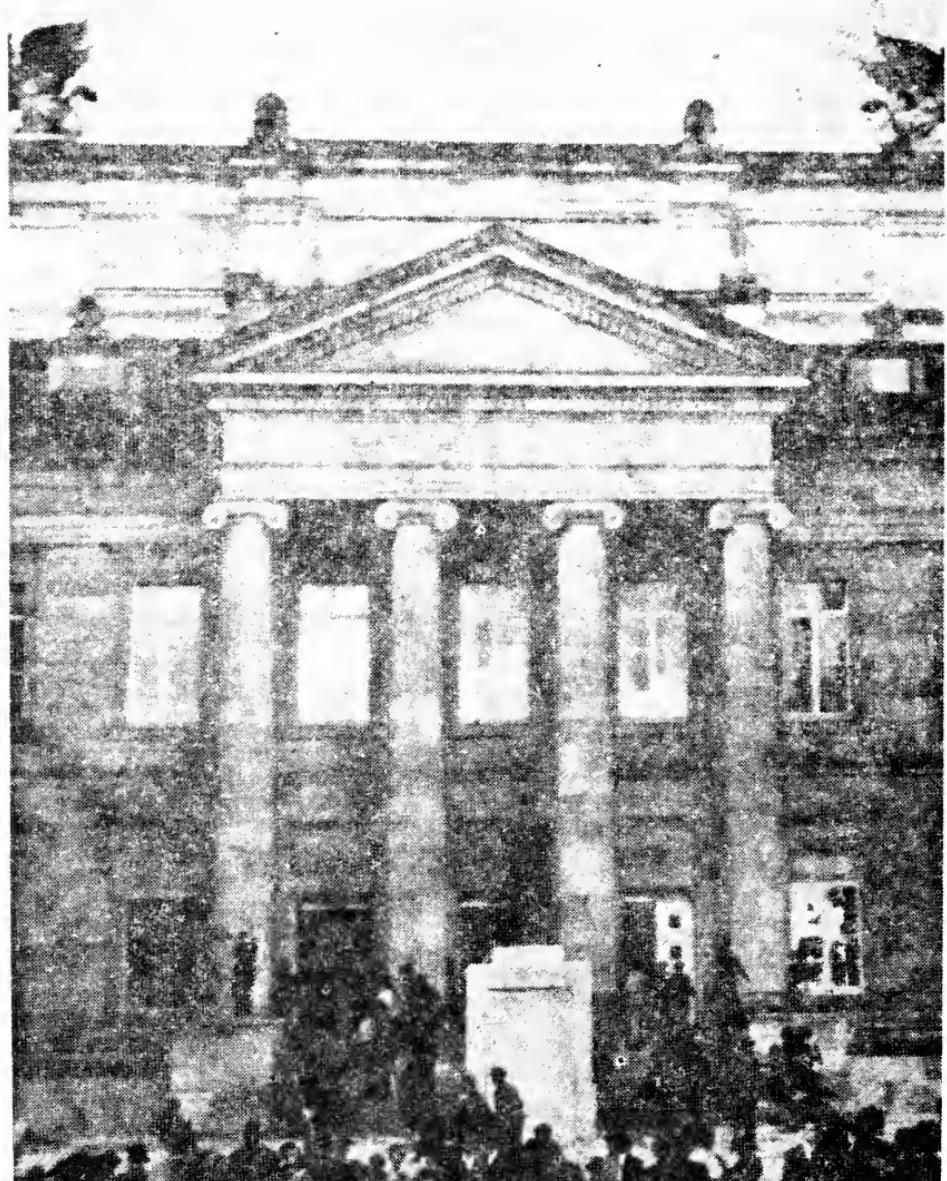
"The proportion of Communists and Communist sympathizers in the maddened throngs, which for 3 days looted and burned their own national institutions and facilities in Colombia, probably did not exceed 5 percent of the population, but under the prodding and harangues of the Red leaders they lost their sense of direction and purpose, and turned from a possibly legitimate expression of national dissatisfaction with the Conservative government to violence, bloodshed, arson, and looting. Grief for the untimely death of Gaitan turned in a single hour to unrestricted mob violence, which spared neither shop, church, public utility, or institution of public service. Inflamed by initial success the mobs milled in the streets, armed with whatever weapons they could obtain, smashing windows and doors, overturning streetcars and buses, looting shops, markets, and stores, and then setting the torch to the shambles remaining. What could be carried was taken, what could not be lifted was smashed. Bolts of textiles were carried into the streets to be hauled their entire lengths through the gutters. Wanton and useless destruction was the order of the day.

* * * * *

"On Friday last your observer, together with three other members of the U.S. delegation, was having lunch in the fine restaurant located in the capitol basement. Gaitan was murdered shortly after 1 p.m. on Friday and within minutes the mobs were surging through the plaza. The unarmed police were powerless to cope with the situation and were brushed aside by the rioters as they streamed into the building. Red flags were in profusion and I personally saw hammer-and-sickle flags. Using stones, bricks, machetes, and boards, the mob commenced a methodical tour of destruction which was to render the first floor of the capitol building a shambles within a matter of minutes. The police reorganized and in a short while managed to eject the rioters from the building. * * *

* * * * *

⁹ Inter-American Labor News, May 1948, p. 3.



Storming capitol, mob surges inside Inter-American Conference rooms. Records were tossed out windows.

Life magazine, April 26, 1948, page 26.

"In the meanwhile, the surging mobs turned their attention to automobiles, streetcars, and buses in the plaza square, and within 2 hours after the initial outbreak much of Bogotá's transportation was in flames and the columns of black smoke which were to characterize this city for the next 3 days were rolling skyward. In every group there appeared to be a leader with a plan. Orators harangued the mobs and the most frequently heard phrase was 'Abajo,' which means 'down with.' After the first few senseless minutes of apparent confusion, the movement gained added impetus and a new sense of organization. Looting broke out and the first fires in the business district were started. Firing, which was rare in the first several hours, became more general as night approached."¹⁰

The New York Times published a few dispatches from correspondents which gave additional sidelights on what occurred:

"A revolution touched off by the assassination of a leftist liberal leader broke up the Inter-American Conference today. Savage mobs, armed with guns and machetes, wrecked the capitol, communications, and other buildings, after the lynched body of the alleged assassin was dragged before the Presidential Palace. * * * The rioting was furthered by broadcasts over a captured Government radio station, with speakers urging widespread revolution."

"A small bomb exploded outside the U.S. Embassy and delegation buildings. Only windows were broken.

"Looting of liquor and hardware stores was widespread. Trolley cars were turned over and fires were raging."

Another dispatch described the wounding of John Powell, of Nashville, Tenn., a diplomatic courier of the State Department. He had been attacked outside the American Embassy by rioters with machetes. His dispatch bag was cut.

Another dispatch disclosed the coordination of the Communist-controlled Confederation of Workers of Colombia with the efforts of those in charge of the uprising. This organization, through its legal adviser, Carlos Henry Pareja, called for a general strike and instructed its members to arm themselves in the streets or in hardware stores. Diego Montana Cueller, Communist legal adviser of the Federation of Petro Workers (CTC), announced that the people's revolution was triumphant, aided by elements of the police and the Army.¹¹

THE RED HAND OF THE COMMUNISTS

The fact that the Communists played a decisive part in the events of April 9 and 10 is corroborated by a number of authoritative sources. Rafael Azula Barera, secretary general of the Colombian presidency, formally blamed the Communists for sabotaging the Inter-American Conference. He charged that Cuban, Costa Rican, and Honduran Communists had participated in the April 9 attacks on the Government radio stations.¹²

Colombia's President, Ospina Perez, declared that Jorge Eliecer Gaitan had been "killed by a person apparently of Communist affiliation." He further alleged that the "trouble was a Communist maneuver."¹³

Then Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, was most outspoken in placing the blame for the outbreak on the Communist Party of Colombia and the Soviet Union. Before the Inter-American Conference he declared emphatically that the revolt had been Communist-inspired and added:

"This situation must not be judged on a local basis, however tragic the immediate results may be to the Colombian Government and the people. The occurrence goes far beyond Colombia."

"It is of the same definite pattern as the occurrences which provoked the strikes in France and Italy, and that are endeavoring to prejudice the situation in Italy for the elections on April 18."

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Colombian Government announced that 2 Russians and 13 other foreign agents who had been fighting with the rebels had been captured. Secretary Marshall revealed that other conference delegates held the Communists responsible for the Colombian revolt.¹⁴

¹⁰ Congressional Record, Apr. 15, 1948, pp. 4559, 4560.

¹¹ New York Times, Apr. 10, 1948, p. 3.

¹² New York Times, Apr. 11, 1959, p. 3.

¹³ New York Times, Apr. 10, 1959, pp. 1 and 3.

¹⁴ New York Times, Apr. 13, 1948, p. 1.

DAMAGE DONE BY THE REVOLT

In the absence of an overall and comprehensive estimate of the damage done to the United States and the Inter-American Conference by the Communist use of mob violence as a means of diplomatic pressure, we can only cite the following specific facts.

Congressman Donald J. Jackson has given an illuminating picture of the hazards encountered by American personnel:

"Friday night found the U.S. group isolated in three principal locations, although some few others were elsewhere in the city. At the U.S. Embassy approximately 65 persons under the direction of Assistant Secretary of State Norman Armour, were completely isolated from the American delegation headquarters group directly across the street in the Edificio Americano * * * Secretary Marshall and others of the U.S. group were isolated in their residences elsewhere in the city.

"Communications on Friday night, save for the radio in the Embassy building, were nonexistent. Fires almost completely circled the two buildings and a small blaze in the basement of the Embassy building was taken under control before it could seriously damage the structure. There was no food available for the Americans in either building, although others of us at the delegation hotel were more fortunate in this respect. During Friday night a crude bomb was thrown into the U.S. delegation headquarters, but no casualties resulted * * *

"Upon orders of Secretary of State Marshall, evacuations of all but vitally needed personnel commenced on Saturday. Communications were still out of order, but armed convoys were able to move from place to place under heavy sniper fire. A high priority for evacuations was assigned to delegates from all republics and many other men, women, and children of the Latin-American countries were flown out of Bogotá by the 20th Troop Transport Command, based in Panama. Incoming planes carried rations in case of food shortages, and assurances were given all delegations that such rations would be made available to them as needed."¹⁵

Bertram H. Hulen, reporting for the New York Times, stated on April 12 that "eight Argentines departed last night, including a major economic official. In his absence it is difficult to see how detailed economic arrangements can be concluded. Notwithstanding assurances on safety, many members of the United States delegation were evacuated by planes today."¹⁶

Five days after the outbreak, after a temporary suspension, the Inter-American Conference was reconvened in a school building in suburban Bogotá.¹⁷

The Communist estimate of what they had achieved by the Bogotá riots is summarized by Joseph Starobin, the Daily Worker's star reporter on foreign affairs, in an article entitled "What Bogotá Blow-Up Reveals." He stated that "Interruption of the Foreign Ministers' parley is a sock in the jaw to the big business men of the State Department * * * the world has suddenly seen America's feet of clay."¹⁸

¹⁵ Congressional Record, Apr. 15, 1948, p. 4560.

¹⁶ New York Times, Apr. 13, 1948, p. 1.

¹⁷ Life magazine, Apr. 26, 1948, p. 23.

¹⁸ Daily Worker, Apr. 12, 1948, p. 3.



Conference reconvenes on April 14 in a school 3 miles from Bogotá. Here the steering committee (Secretary Marshall sits at left center) discusses agenda for remainder of conference.

Life magazine, April 26, 1948, page 28.

Starobin continued his estimate a few days later, admitting the role of the Colombian Communists, as follows:

"The Conference of Foreign Ministers, where Secretary of State George C. Marshall was trying to dovetail Latin America into the Marshall plan, was rudely interrupted.

"All that Marshall could say to explain this sudden disclosure of the real conditions in Latin America was to blame it on 'international communism'. * * *

"I don't mean to say that Colombia's Communists stood aside from the revolutionary movement. That would do an injustice to the Communist Party, which * * * polled 7,000 votes in the municipal elections last fall, played an important part in the Colombian Confederation of Labor and sought to cooperate with the leftwing Liberals.

"Communist leaders, like 36-year-old Gilberto Viera, or former Senator Jorge Regueros Peralta, or the CTC secretary, Pedro Abella, certainly sided with the people in their anger over Gaitan's murder."¹⁹

It should be noted that the Communist Party of Colombia was officially represented at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in Moscow in January 1959 by its secretary-general, Gilberto Viera White, and

¹⁹ Daily Worker, Apr. 18, 1948, p. 12.

Joaquin Moreno and that the party was also represented at the meeting of the Communist and Workers Parties held in Moscow, November 14 to 16, 1957, at which a special commission was appointed to deal with Latin American questions.

DEMONSTRATION AGAINST VICE PRESIDENT NIXON

PREPARING THE GROUND

Vice President Richard M. Nixon was expected to arrive at Caracas, Venezuela, on May 13, 1958. Well before that time Radio Moscow broadcast its incendiary propaganda to South America in Spanish. On April 27, commentator Serveyev remarked:

"U.S. Vice President Nixon is once again getting ready to tour Latin America * * *. Bolivia, Venezuela, Brazil, and Mexico are not hiding their discontent over the harm done to them by the recession in the United States * * *. As is clear from the U.S. press, recent events in Latin America have shown how unpopular and odious U.S. policy is. That is why, as the New York papers point out, Nixon will hear grave complaints * * *".

The Moscow radio beamed to Brazil in Portuguese, continued to whip up Latin American sentiment against Mr. Nixon in a broadcast by Borisev on April 30, 1958:

"U.S. Vice President Nixon arrived in Montevideo on April 29 to pay an official visit * * *. Some startling events took place in Latin America on the eve of Nixon's tour. An anti-American mass demonstration took place in Bolivia. President Ibanez of Chile refused to carry out an official visit to the United States in protest against U.S. tariff policy. In Peru, Chile, Colombia, Venezuela, and several other countries there is a powerful upsurge of the strike movement and this has an open anti-imperialist character * * *. He [Nixon] was forced to cancel a meeting with the Montevideo students federation * * *. His meeting with trade union leaders was put off. Some groups of Paraguayan emigres sent him a telegram protesting against his intended visit to Paraguay."

It is significant to note with what attention Moscow through its Latin American agents, apparently followed the course of the Nixon tour.

Regarding Nixon's reception at San Marcos University in Peru, Radio Moscow broadcast on May 10 in Spanish to Latin America by Andrianov declared that Nixon received a hostile reception and that "a similar reception was accorded to him by Peruvians in other parts of the country, to the point where the visit became a veritable scandal." Moscow broadcasts as early as April 26 ridiculed Pan American Week and declared that Nixon was assigned the almost impossible mission of trying to assuage mounting Latin American discontent. Sixteen anti-American commentaries were broadcast to Latin America from April 26 through May 13. Thus the Moscow radio did its share to fan the flames of anti-American hysteria preliminary to Caracas.

SAN MARCOS UNIVERSITY OUTBREAK

In a sense, events at San Marcos University in Peru constituted a dress rehearsal and springboard for the subsequent rioting at Caracas. Vice President Nixon was scheduled to appear at the university on May 8. Before that day Mr. Nixon had received a number of warnings of a Communist-directed demonstration against him, including one from Theodore C. Achilles, American Ambassador at Lima, Peru.²⁰

The New York Times of May 11, 1958, announced that "Rumors had circulated that Peru's small but vocal Communist Party planned a violent demonstration if Mr. Nixon made a scheduled visit to San Marcos University."

Lee de Vore, a Montana journalism student at San Marcos, described the background at the university as follows in the Montana Kaimin, newspaper of the University of Montana:

"It is common knowledge that several of the professors are top men in various leftwing parties."²⁰

She also describes the elaborate preparations made by the Communist-led students federation:

"For several days before Nixon's proposed visit and informal talk at San Marcos, handbills and pamphlets had been passed among the students—in effect, 'Go home, Nixon—we don't want the monopolistic imperialists—what about the proposed mineral tariffs—what about the tightened import quotas—go away

²⁰ Congressional Record, May 26, 1958, p. 9429.

Gringos—all imperialists, etc.' These warnings began to appear in red on the walls inside the university as well."²¹

Thus the Communists did not hesitate to employ in their agitation both economic and racial appeals based upon their Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Miss de Vore was an eyewitness of the ensuing turmoil provoked by the Communists, which she described:

"Politics waxed hot on all sides, and at 10 a Communist-inspired demonstration began outside. This ignited a counterdemonstration inside—inspired by several rabble-rousing leaders of the strongest party in the country, the Apristas.

"During the commotion Nixon arrived, had been insulted and repulsed by the Communists and sympathizers outside. * * * Blood-red signs of 'Go Home, Nixon,' 'Shark,' and 'Get Out' began to appear below me and the atmosphere changed. * * *

"Then the call was 'to the streets,' and 'to the Plaza of San Martin.' The plaza, modern center of Lima, is faced by the Hotel Bolivar where Nixon stayed, the American Embassy, and other important Government buildings. So like a stream of ants, the 2,000-odd students and spectators vacated the university and ran down the center of the busy streets to the plaza. * * *

"The mob's first act was to tear the American flag from the center of a floral wreath placed earlier by Nixon at the foot of the statue of San Martin. The demonstration continued at the frantic gestures of the party leaders. * * *

"I gained a sixth-story window at the Hotel Bolivar * * * in time to see Nixon's car coming up the street. The crowd saw him, too, and converged upon him, barring the car's path and forcing him and his party to walk the last block to the hotel. * * * Nixon, walking as rapidly as he dared, approached the hotel with a wave and smile in the face of insults and missiles."

On-the-scene observer Tad Szulc, New York Times correspondent, summarized the events as follows:

"Vice President Richard M. Nixon was spat upon, grazed on the neck by a stone, shoved and booed as he marched twice today into mobs of Communist-led demonstrators demanding his ouster from the country.

"In the course of anti-U.S. riots set off by Mr. Nixon's presence, the Communists also desecrated the U.S. flag. They ripped out flowers that formed it in a wreath laid by Mr. Nixon at the foot of the statue of Jose de San Martin, a leader of South America's fight for independence from Spain.

"The Vice President became the target of a Communist barrage of invective and stones, bottles, eggs, and oranges when, in a dramatic last-minute gesture, he decided to defy the demonstrators who had massed in front of Lima's University of San Marcos."²²

²¹ Ibid.

²² New York Times, May 9, 1958, p. 1.



Screaming at Nixon, rioters wave signs telling Nixon to get out, asking freedom for Puerto Rican who inspired 1950 Truman assassination try.

Life magazine, May 19, 1958, p. 22.

VENEZUELAN COMMUNIST PARTY PREPARES

The Venezuelan Communist newspaper, Tribuna Popular, on May 3 sounded the incendiary keynote. "Nixon No" the publication screamed in inch-high red type. May 1 demonstrations backed by the Communist Party and its controlled labor unions and front organizations called for proletarian unity against American imperialism. Much was made of the fact that Mr. Nixon was scheduled to arrive in Caracas on May 13, the traditional Latin American bad-luck day.

The Communist weekly devoted almost all of its 24 pages to a denunciation of Mr. Nixon, the United States and pro-American individuals in Venezuela. On the front page of the May 10 issue appeared a hate-inspiring cartoon of Vice President Nixon with fanglike teeth giving him the appearance of a wild beast.

Page 1 of the May 10 issue was devoted to eight questions around which the Communists were concentrating their agitation including: alleged U.S. relations with dictators; petroleum restrictions; Yankee imperialism; Little Rock; denials of visas to intellectuals; atomic testing; intervention of American business; equal pay for equal work in United States and Venezuelan oilfields.

The caption "Tricky Dick," which appeared in connection with pictures of Mr. Nixon in Tribuna Popular, turned up later on signs with which the crowd greeted him on his arrival. This appellation appeared originally in the Communist Daily Worker in the United States. There were also pointed references to "piedras"—rocks. It was not uncommon to find the name of a leading Communist signed to an important editorial in a non-Communist paper. No channel for Communist agitation was overlooked. The Communist press set the pace for the entire leftwing press.

The spearhead of the agitation was the excitable, Communist-controlled and penetrated student organizations including Accion Democratica and the Union Republicana Democratica, which held many preliminary meetings prior to the fateful May 13. Scripps-Howard staff writer, Charles Lucey, who addressed a seminar at the Central University of Caracas on May 21, declared that "effective spreading of the Communist line and doctrine was widely apparent" among the



Screaming crowd, out of reach on airport balcony, hoots arriving Nixons. These demonstrators, mostly of high school age, hoist banner, "Puen! (Go away) Nixon," and, like pair in center, blow Bronx cheers with noisemakers. Life magazine, May 26, 1958.

students.²³ They set the pace for other non-Communist but leftist student organizations.

Serafino Romualdi, inter-American representative of the AFL-CIO, has called attention to active Communist penetration of intellectual and student circles in Latin America: He declared:

"There is reason for real concern over the penetration that Communists have made in certain Latin American intellectual circles and, particularly, in student bodies * * *. The intellectual field, in all its many ramifications, still represents, in my opinion, the main immediate goal of the Communists south of the Rio Grande * * *. The Communists (in Venezuela) were able to build upon the students' strong resentment over the fact that Perez Jimenez and Chief of Police Pedro Estrada were granted visas to enter the United States.

"Under their reign, the University of Caracas had been closed for many months, while hundreds of students were arrested and tortured by the secret police."

Mr. Romualdi called attention to another incident which was highly capitalized by the Communists, through their publication:

"Additional fuel was added to the smoldering resentment with the publication in the Communist daily newspaper of Caracas of a photostatic copy of a congratulatory letter which Fletcher Warren, former U.S. Ambassador to Venezuela * * * wrote to Estrade, after he had suppressed the first large-scale revolt against the Perez Jimenez dictatorship on last New Year's Day. This * * * was fully exploited by the Communists to whip up an anti-American emotional climate."²⁴

Communists are prominent in the field of journalism and a Communist is a vice president of the Caracas University student federation. They are also prominent in the school's journalism school and in the science faculty.²⁵

The agility of the student youth was put to active use. Red letters 2 feet high appeared on walls, parapets, and underpasses, calling upon Mr. Nixon to go home, drop dead, take his "imperialist Yankee thieves and murderers" home with him and asking questions about Little Rock. During the weekend preceding Mr. Nixon's visit signs reading "Fuera Nixon"—"Nixon Go Home"—were transformed to read "Muera Nixon"—"Nixon Drop Dead." In the vilest and most untranslatable terms, Nixon's name was used to carry the message that "Good neighbors are neither good nor neighbors."²⁶

In order to further aggravate American-Venezuelan relations, the Communist Tribuna Popular of May 10 published the following statement ascribed to Simon Bolivar, Venezuelan Liberator:

"The United States seems destined by Providence to bring misery to the Americans in the name of liberty."

This quotation was auspiciously requoted by Serbando Garcia Ponce, a Communist editorial writer, prior to the events of May 13.²⁷

William Key, administrative assistant to Vice President Nixon, confirmed a report from E.E. Baughman, Chief of the U.S. Secret Service, that the Communist had hired a Venezuelan student as a triggerman in an attempt on Nixon's life.²⁸

The U.S. Information Agency has reviewed the issues of the weekly Communist paper, Tribuna Popular, prior to the May 13 demonstration. On May 3, for example, the issue predicted that anti-Nixon demonstrations would occur in other parts of Latin America. The issue of May 10 carried inch-high black headlines reading "Fuera Nixon." An exact translation of some of the provocative features follows:

"Caption beneath picture:

"Tricky Dick' on Leaving Lima.

"Mr. Richard Nixon, Vice President of the United States, will arrive next Tuesday the 13th at Maiquetia (Airport), coming from Ecuador to wind up in Caracas his turbulent journey to the peoples of the south. No other tourist has aroused such strong feelings: boos in Montevideo, hisses in La Paz, rocks in Lima. Throughout America (i.e., South America) the citizens have said: 'Go home, Mr. Nixon.'"

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²³ Washington Daily News, May 21, 1958, p. 2.

²⁴ AFL-CIO News, May 24, 1958.

²⁵ Washington Daily News, May 21, 1957, p. 7.

²⁶ William Hines, Washington Evening Star, May 26, 1958, pp. A1 and A4.

²⁷ William Hines, Washington Evening Star, May 27, 1958, p. A13.

²⁸ Robert T. Hartmann, Los Angeles Times, May 13, 1958, pp. 1, 4.



Mob of teenagers and a few adults surrounding the automobile of Vice President Nixon at Caracas.
Life magazine, May 26, 1968, p. 33.

"On page 6 of the same issue appeared a woodblock cartoon 'Nixon's Itinerary' appears the following list of incidents alleged to have occurred during Mr. Nixon's trip:

"In Uruguay he was booed by the students.

"The Argentine Congress greets him with whistling.

"The Paraguayans, in spite of Stroessner, hiss him in the street.

"'Go back to Miami,' the placards of the Bolivians say.

"They receive him in Lima with the utmost coldness.

"And nothing better remains for him to say but 'I have met a regrettable lack of understanding in Latin America.'

"And he has not yet got to Caracas."²⁸

RIOT AT THE MAIQUETIA AIRPORT

Mr. Nixon's plane from Bogotá arrived at 10:58 a.m. at the Maiquetia Airport. Waiting to receive him was a group of high school students carrying banners with the identical slogans previously blazoned by the Communist weekly, *Tribuna Popular*, such as: "Fuera Nixon"—"Nixon Go Home"—"Yanqui Imperialismo No"; "Tricky Dick, go home." The group seemed to be under the control of an adult.

Writing in the Washington Evening Star of May 25, 1958, William Hines, who conducted an intensive investigation in Caracas, described what occurred at the airport:

"A stairway was pushed to the plane's side, the door opened, and Mr. and Mrs. Nixon emerged.

"The crowd began to whistle—a noise of derision in Venezuela. Some of the demonstrators blew on wood-and-rubber razzberries * * *

"The roar of the crowd, the whistling, the hooting, and the razzberries continued through both the Star Spangled Banner and the Venezuelan hymn * * *

"The howls of the crowd became deafening. Someone threw his razzberry at the Vice President. Others did the same. Then the spitting began.

"It was the damnedest thing I ever saw in my life," one witness recalled. "There was a regular rain of spit coming down on us."

RED STORM OVER CARACAS

The Nixon motorcade proceeded to the outskirts of the Caracas working-class district to the Avenida Sucre. There it was, for some unexplained reason, stalled in a noon-hour traffic jam composed of buses whose drivers are affiliated to a Communist-dominated union. Riding a stake truck ahead of the motorcade, Robert T. Hartmann, Washington bureau chief of the Los Angeles Times, observed the following:

"Wild with anti-American fury a mob of several hundred youths led by older men charged the closed Cadillac limousine and shattered all but two windows, dented the body, and tried to open the door and pull Nixon out * * *.

"The rioters bombarded the Nixon car with heavy rocks, jagged cans, eggs and tomatoes, and beat the windows to smithereens with clubs."²⁹

It was clearly evident that the traffic jam was not accidental but premeditated. "It was no accident," later declared the Vice President. "There were two trucks. They collided and the drivers just walked away." The mob had been organized well in advance.

According to the findings of William Hines:

"This time the mob went wild. Screaming, beating on the halted lead car with sticks, pieces of scrap iron, and brickbats, howling * * * foul imprecations, spitting, throwing rocks, the bravos tried to get into the Nixon car."³⁰

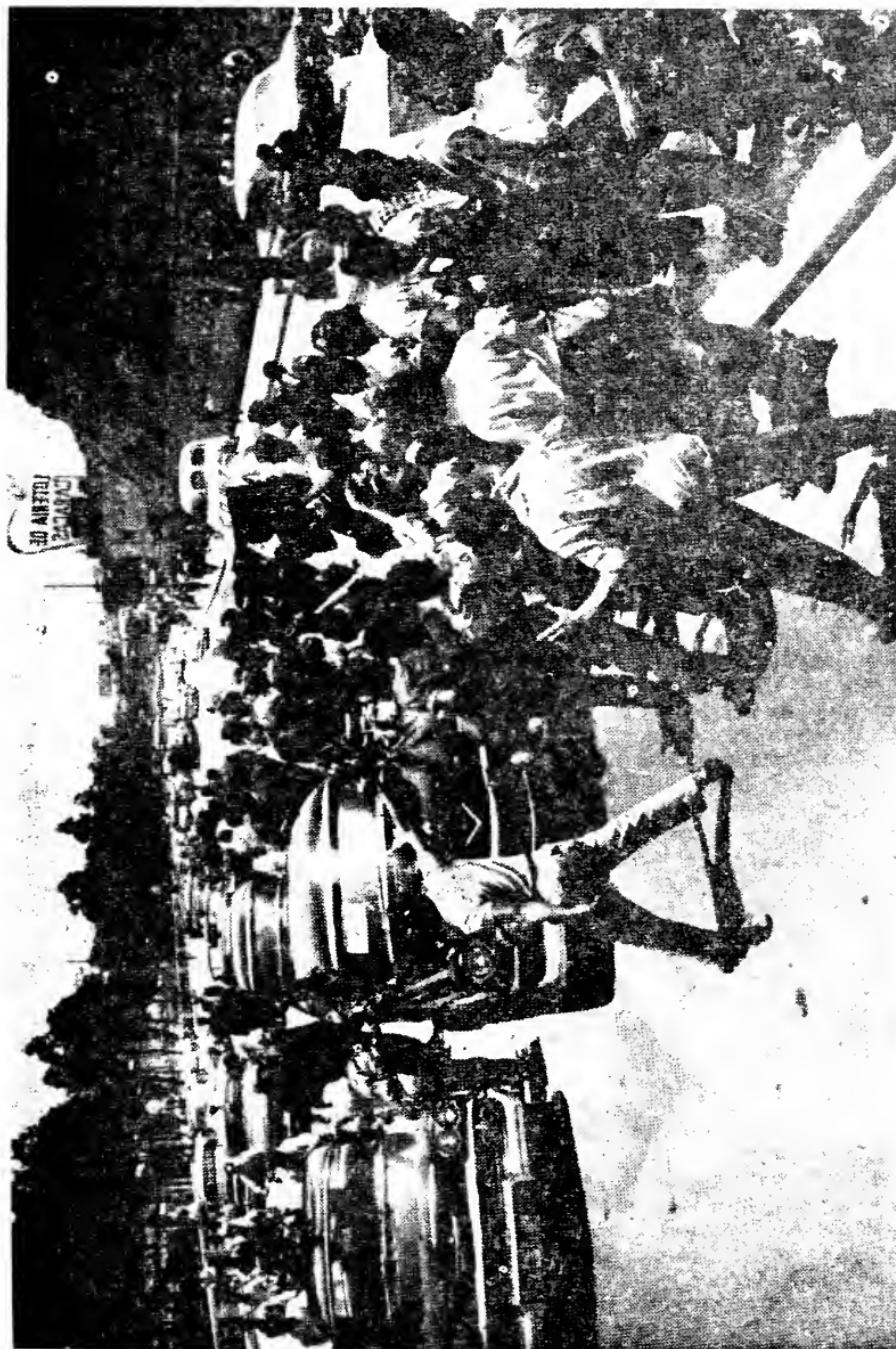
The next scheduled stop was the Pantheon, the resting place of the Venezuelan liberator Simon Bolivar. Again the organized crowd of demonstrators was prepared. The street was packed with banner-carrying youngsters of from 13 to 23 years of age, looking for trouble. The Vice President decided to abandon the Pantheon appearance. When his military aids arrived there, however, not knowing of the change of plans, this is what they found according to Mr. Hines:

"The place was a shambles. The supposed patriots—guarding the sacred tomb from the "yanqui" enemy—had run wild. They had hoisted a black flag of

²⁸ "A Review of the Relations of the United States and Other American Republics," hearings before the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, June-July 1958, p. 132.

²⁹ Los Angeles Times, May 14, 1958, p. 1.

³⁰ Washington Star, May 25, 1958.



Demonstrator flings himself toward Nixon's No. 1 car to hold it up as yelling crowd moves up.
Life magazine, May 26, 1958, p. 33.

mourning. They had draped anti-American slogans across its front. They had befouled its steps with garbage."³¹

The picture is amplified by Robert T. Hartmann, of the Los Angeles Times: "Meanwhile, at the Pantheon, agitators had worked the crowd to fever pitch. Waiting Nixon, they began abusing the soldiers stationed there, peppering them with stones and sticks. Assistant U.S. Naval Attaché Louis Scleris was pummeled and kicked when he brought the wreath Nixon was to lay, and had to be escorted from the square between bayoneted ranks of soldiers. The mob tore the wreath to shreds.

"If he [Nixon] had gone in there, he'd never have come out alive," an American eyewitness asserted."³²

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VENEZUELA

The basic policy of the Communist Party of Venezuela is primarily that of latching itself on to nationalist movements, penetrating and manipulating them to its own advantage, in line with the current international policy of Moscow. Tribuna Popular has declared that "without the Communist Party there can be no united front." The party claims 12,000 members and 14,000 student auxiliaries. Through a powerful underground organization, through its inner discipline and cunning, this tiny minority operating in a highly explosive atmosphere is in a position to mobilize forces far beyond its numerical strength.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., is the senior party in the Western Hemisphere, maintaining supervisory authority over other Communist Parties of the area. It is significant that the Worker of February 24, 1952, official organ of the CPUSA, has devoted considerable attention to the Communist Party of Venezuela. Regarding its united front with other groups, the Worker declared:

"In the political field the trend toward unity between the Communist Party and the country's largest political party, Democratic Action * * * has been greatly accelerated. * * * The influence of the wing that favors a united front with the Communists is growing. * * * This wing includes Andres Eloy Blanco, former Foreign Minister and Venezuela's leading poet."

The Worker described the strength of the Communist press in Venezuela:

"When the party was legal it had one daily paper, Tribuna Popular, with a circulation of about 12,000. Today the party publishes illegally 4 printed weeklies and about 25 mimeographed papers in various parts of the country. Tribuna Popular has a circulation of 12,000-15,000 copies. Since each copy is passed around, the actual number of readers is much larger."

The Worker paints a glowing eulogy of Eduardo and Gustavo Machado, the two outstanding leaders of the CPV, from the time they were students:

After a visit to the Soviet Union, Gustavo went to live in Mexico * * *. Meanwhile, Eduardo had gone to the United States to work with the Anti-Imperialist League.³³ He was twice deported, but managed to spend several years in the United States. There he married Gertrude Allison, daughter of Alfred Wagenknecht, one of the founders of the U.S. Communist Party.

"After being deported for the second time, Eduardo and his wife went to the Soviet Union, where he worked and studied for several years, specializing in political economy."

It would seem from the Worker account that Gustavo Machado had considerable military experience, after his return from the Soviet Union:

"* * * the elder [Gustavo] joined the Sandino forces in the jungles of Nicaragua * * *. In 1929 he became a member of a group of 250 men off the northern coast of Venezuela, invaded Venezuela in an effort to overthrow the Gomez dictatorship.

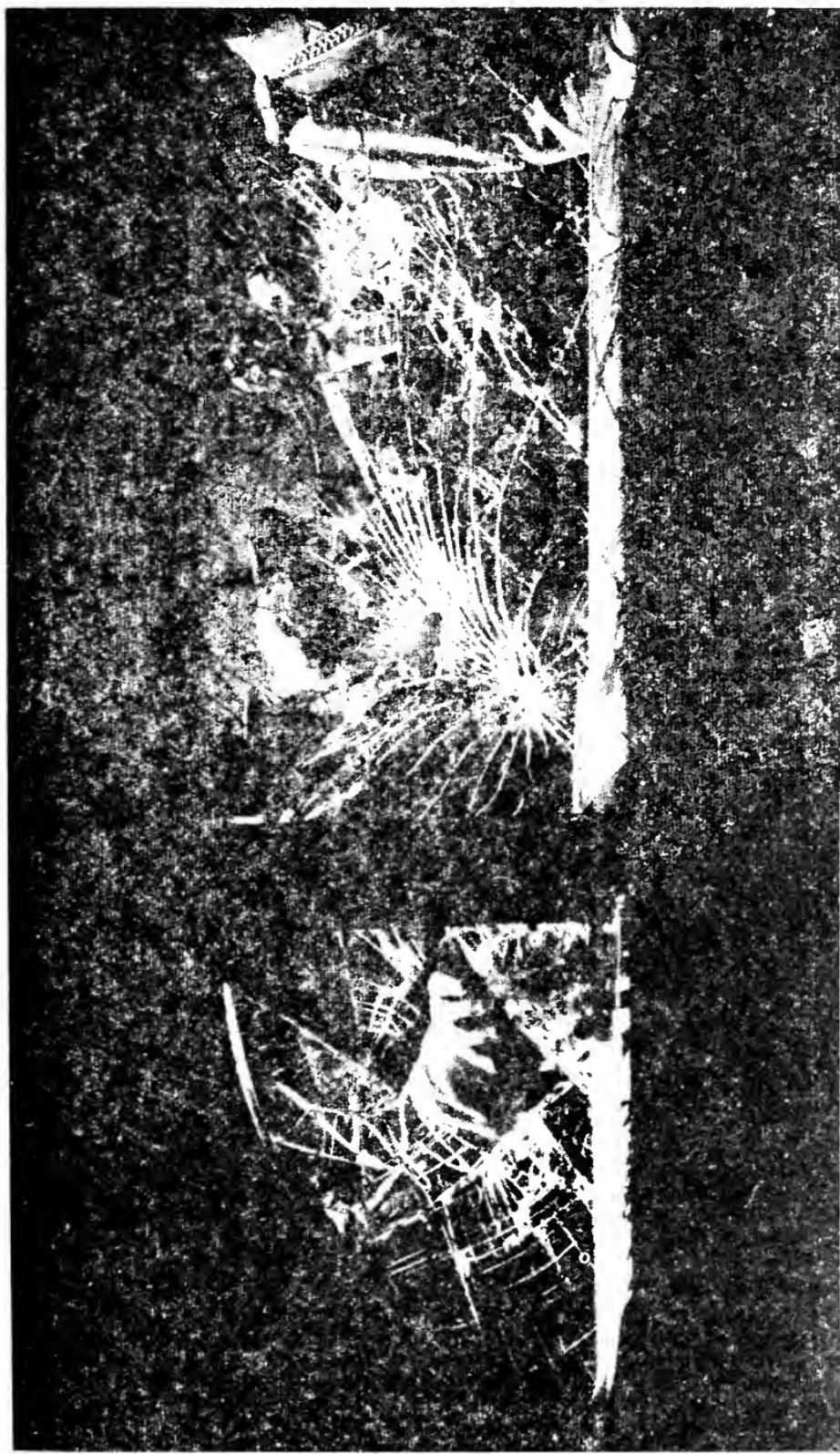
"For 4 months they waged guerrilla warfare against superior forces. After their defeat Gustavo went to Colombia, from where he helped organize the Communist Party of Venezuela * * *. In 1937 he was expelled [from Venezuela] for activity in connection with the oil strike. He returned to Colombia, where Eduardo also had gone."

Washington Star reporter, William Hines, interviewed Gustavo Machado on May 19, 1958, with reference to proposed changes in the Venezuelan Cabinet subsequent to the resignation of two juntists who withdrew in protest against the Government inefficiency displayed in the Nixon affair. Mr. Machado demon-

³¹ Ibid.

³² Los Angeles Times, May 26, 1958.

³³ Cited as subversive by Attorney General Francis Biddle in "Re Harry Bridges," May 28, 1942, p. 10.



This photograph, taken from inside the Nixon car, shows the shattering of its safety plate-glass windows by the mob's sticks and stones. Life magazine, May 26, 1958, p. 35.

strated the degree to which his party had penetrated and intervened in the affairs of the ruling junta. He told Mr. Hines that his personal choices for the junta were Rene de Sola, Minister of Justice; Julio de Armas, Minister of Education; and Numa Quevedo, Minister of the Interior and head of the Venezuela police organization. Mr. Hines added the following comment: "The left-wing nature of these men's views and the jobs they held made them fit nicely with Communist plans for further confusion."³⁴

Despite the fact that the Communists publicly and consistently disclaimed responsibility for the violent outrages which occurred, the Tribuna Popular declared: "At 12:30 it was announced that the demonstrators had won a victory: the footsteps of Nixon would not defile the sacred precincts where repose the ashes of the liberator."

COMMUNISTS CAPITALIZE ON RIOTS

In its manipulation and exploitation of mobs, the Communist Party of Venezuela kept keenly in mind certain central aims which it sought to realize. On May 17, Tribuna Popular published a chronological list of 152 years of alleged crimes of American imperialism.

The political bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela, with customary guile and in the face of the facts, categorically condemned "the fib sent from Washington both with regard to a possible attempt against the life of Mr. Nixon, as well as the use of violence against him personally and his party." It considered the statements made by Mr. Nixon to the press "accusing the Venezuelan Communist Party, as an open interference in our internal affairs."

Although disclaiming responsibility for the Caracas outrage, the Politbureau hailed the spectacle at Maiquetia Airport and in Caracas proper, claiming that "the student masses and the people in general were expressing their just objection."

The Politbureau further branded Mr. Nixon's trip to Venezuela as "a decided provocation against the patriotic sentiment of the Venezuelan people." The paper held the demonstration to have been "a legitimate expression of the national feeling of repudiation of the voracious North American foreign policy."

The paper further condoned the rioting by declaring:

"By means of the press and radio and through the intellectuals, political parties, student organizations, etc., all Venezuela made obvious for several consecutive days her displeasure at Mr. Nixon's visit * * *. We do not hesitate in affiliating ourselves with that great march of the students and people * * *."

The Communists employed the timeworn device of blaming the other fellow when the Tribuna Popular ascribed responsibility to the reactionaries "so that they can later blame the Communists and adherents of other ideologies."³⁵

After the Caracas riots, there were 12 broadcasts from Peking in Communist China. Five commentaries in Spanish were beamed to South America. There were three in the Chinese home service, four to southeast Asia, three to North America, and one to the Middle East.

It should be noted that the Communist Party of Venezuela was officially represented at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in Moscow in January 1959 by the following leading members: Jesus Faria, Pompeyo Marquez, Pedro Ortega Diaz, Alonso Ojeda Oleachea, and Guillermo Guardin and was also represented by Alvaro Vasquez del Real at the meeting of the Communist and Workers Parties held in Moscow, November 14 to 16, 1957, at which a special commission was appointed to deal with Latin American questions. It was also represented at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow in the summer of 1928. The Communist Party of Venezuela polled 160,719 votes, or 6.2 percent of the total in December 1958.

TURMOIL IN BOLIVIA

On December 27, 1952, the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolivia made known its objectives and plans, which were published in LaNacion, organ of the Bolivian Government. It hailed the military coup of April 9, 1953, as "a genuine people's uprising" aimed "to stop Bolivia from being a tool of the Yankee warmongers." "The taking up of arms by the people and their victory over the armed forces of the proimperialist Rosca (group dominating the tin industry)" the party declared, "are of undeniable historic sig-

³⁴ Washington Star, May 29, 1958.

³⁵ Tribuna Popular, May 17, 1958.

nificance." It demanded recognition of "the urgent need of giving more arms to the workers and peasants." The document recommended the "organization of a people's militia controlled and led by the workers' and peasants' trade unions." The Bolivian Federation of Labor is an affiliate of the Communist-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions. Significantly, the secretariat declared that the Communist Party "took an active and outstanding part" in "the victorious uprising of April 9" together with the active members of the National Revolutionary Movement. It held out the hope that "if the Bolivian Revolution fulfills the people's aspirations for peace, liberty, and well-being, it will occupy an honorable place alongside the Chinese Revolution, and the revolutions in the People's Democracies." It called for the "denunciation and abrogation of * * * the war treaties imposed by North American imperialism at the Conferences of Bogotá, Rio de Janeiro, and Washington; expulsion of the U.S. military mission." In addition to demanding the "establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and the People's Democracies," the document called for "taking Bolivia out of the war camp and into the camp of peace," which is the Communist way of advocating the severance of any alliance with the United States and the establishment of a military rapprochement with the Soviet Union.²⁶

In its March 2, 1959, Latin American issue of Time magazine, an unidentified member of the American Embassy at La Paz was quoted as saying that "The only solution to the Bolivian problem is to abolish Bolivia and let the neighbors divide the country and solve the problem." Although this stupid and tactless remark was immediately repudiated by the U.S. State Department, it was eagerly seized upon to light the spark for 3 days of anti-American violence.

The day after the 670 copies of Time arrived in La Paz and were placed in the hands of its local agent, he was waylaid by members of the Communist-supported National Revolutionary Movement Youth, and all copies were stolen. Two days later all La Paz papers featured the story including La Nación, official Government newspaper, with the headline "Time, the Fingernail of Imperialism's Vile Claw, Offends Bolivia." The incendiary note was unmistakable.



La Paz teenagers and "May the Yankees Die" sign. When the President called, they answered.

Time magazine, March 16, 1959.

On the morning of March 2, 2,000 high-school students appeared out of nowhere, fully organized and equipped with banners such as: "May the Yankees Die." Identified among them were Trotskyites and Communists. They shouted, "Down with American imperialism" and "We don't want to be colonized by the Yankees." A large banner demanded the establishment of diplomatic relations

²⁶ "What Must Be Done in Bolivia," by the secretariat, Central Committee, Communist Party of Bolivia, in Political Affairs, August 1953, pp. 29-36.

with the U.S.S.R. Another poster legended "Bolivians, Careful!" depicted Uncle Sam about to carve up the country.

Some of the young men belonging to the youth section of the National Revolutionary Movement were armed with rifles, and shots were fired into the air. They broke through police lines guarding the American Embassy. A 15-year-old student, Julio Mendoza, was shot to death. This added fuel to the raging flames.

The crowd burned the American flag and stoned the U.S. Embassy and the U.S. Information Office. They tore the U.S. coat of arms from the building, spat upon it, and kicked it along the street. They broke large windows and forced their way into the library, destroying books and magazines. A jeep parked in front was overturned and the mob tried to burn it.

After the shooting of Student Julio Mendoza, Bolivian President Hernan Siles Zuazo crossed police lines to the headquarters of the National Revolutionary Movement, accompanied by Vice President Federico Alvarez and other officials. He addressed the throng from a balcony, urging: "Don't make the situation more acute with acts of violence. Shouts do not solve anything." But rioters ignored his words and followed their leaders to stone the point 4 office and smash 25 heavy trucks and pickups of the United States-Bolivian Roads Service.

On March 3, the staff of the U.S. Embassy was moved to the outskirts of La Paz for better protection from Bolivian military and police forces and for evacuation by plane. Again President Siles addressed the crowd of 25,000 from his palace balcony. Again his plea for calm was disobeyed. Led by Trotskyite Leader Victor Villegas, 200 demonstrators stormed police guarding the American Embassy. At Cochabamba, the USIS Library was gutted.

The incitement of mob violence against the United States is all the more inexcusable in the light of the \$129 million in U.S. grants in the past 6 years, the U.S. food shipments which prevented grave distress, and the stabilization program which strengthened Bolivian currency and economy. On the other hand, the Bolivian Government protested in October 1958 against Soviet dumping of huge tin reserves on the world market, thus depressing prices and deepening Bolivia's economic problems.³⁷

In a note addressed thereafter to U.S. Charge d'Affaires at La Paz, Mr. Wymbielley DeR. Coerr, Foreign Minister of Bolivia, by Victor Andrade, the latter stated that the acts of violence which followed the publication of the Time article were the result of agitation by a small minority of extremists influenced by international communism carried out with the intent of damaging the traditional friendship between the peoples and Governments of Bolivia and the United States.³⁸

The international Communist apparatus was quick to capitalize upon the La Paz events. Typical was the broadcast of March 5 from Communist China, which hailed "The big anti-U.S. demonstration in the Bolivian capital of La Paz" as showing that "the Latin American people are not to be insulted."

Commenting upon the "mass anti-American demonstration in La Paz," the Moscow Pravda of March 6, 1959, page 6, described "the true meaning of the American colonial policy toward Bolivia" as "a policy for the further enslavement of the Bolivian people and the destruction of the freedoms that they have won."

It should be noted that the Communist Party of Bolivia was officially represented at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in Moscow in January 1959 by its secretary-general, Luis Angel Telleria and Humberto Ramirez Cardenas, and was also represented at the meeting of the Communist and Workers Parties held in Moscow, November 14 to 16, 1957, at which a special commission was appointed to deal with Latin American questions. The Communist Party of Bolivia polled 6,913 votes or 1.4 percent of the total in July 1958.

RIOT INSTRUCTIONS

We have shown above that the Communist Parties of Colombia, Venezuela, and Bolivia have been in intimate contact with their mentors in Moscow. Former Communist leaders of various countries have testified regarding Soviet instruction to representatives of international Communist Parties, notably Eudocio Ravines of the Communist Party of Chile in his book "The Yenan Way" (Scribners), Valentin Gonzales (El Campesino) together with Julian Gorkin of the Communist Party of Spain, in "Life and Death in Soviet Russia" (Putnam), and Wolfgang Leonhard of the Communist Party of Germany in his "Child of

³⁷ Time, Mar. 16, 1959, pp. 40, 42; Newsweek, Mar. 16, 1959, pp. 48, 53; New York Times, Mar. 3, 1959, p. 8. Also, Christian Science Monitor, Mar. 3, 1959, p. 5.

³⁸ U.S. Department of State Bulletin, Mar. 30, 1959, p. 436.

the Revolution" (Regnery) and Benjamin Gitlow, former member of the political committee of the Communist Party, USA, and its candidate for Vice President, who testified before the Special House Committee on Un-American Activities on September 8, 1939, as follows:

"In addition to that, the Communist International has established a number of colleges for the purpose of training professional revolutionists. In other words, the Communist International is very much interested in developing professional revolutionists, people who would devote all their time to the Communist cause and to the Communist organization, and for that purpose they created in Moscow a number of schools and universities and to these schools and universities we sent students. The American party sends these students over to Moscow, to the highest schools, and the schools to which only the most promising members of the party were sent, and the school to which even leaders of the party were sent is known as the Lenin Institute, and the allotment to the Lenin Institute in recent years, when I was the top leader of the party we sent around 20 students to the Lenin Institute, and they took up a 3-year course in the Lenin Institute on all matters of Communist strategy and policy and everything required of a Communist leader.

* * * * *

"Then they had a Far Eastern University. The Far Eastern University was the university of which Joseph Stalin was particularly proud, and to that university the Communist Parties were supposed to send those members who were interested in becoming active in the Far East and among the colonial peoples of the world, and we sent about 30 to the Far Eastern University, and among them was a large percentage, I would say more than half, Negroes, members of the party. So we could train them or they could be trained to be active in the colonial uprisings if they would take place in Africa and in other places.

* * * * *

"Mr. WHITLEY. I believe that in the past the statement or the allegation has been made that they taught such courses as street fighting, and how to stir up political strife and disorders, and also gave the students at the institute military training under the official trainers of the Red army. Do you know whether that is correct or not?

"Mr. GITLOW. They got a course in military training. They formed a special section of the military in Moscow. They paraded during May Day, carrying the rifles that they practiced with; that is true."²⁹

From within the Communist Party, U.S.A., various former graduates of the Lenin School have testified as to its curriculum, notably Joseph Kornfeder, Charles White, Leonard Patterson, supporting and corroborating the testimony of William Odell Nowell, a former member of the Detroit district committee of the CPUSA, and a delegate to its seventh national convention. He testified to the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on November 30, 1939 with regard to instructions he had received at the Lenin School in 1931 with special reference to the manipulation of mobs and riot techniques:

"Mr. WHITLEY. Were you sent to Russia during 1931, Mr. Nowell?

"Mr. NOWELL. I was.

"Mr. WHITLEY. For what purpose?

"Mr. NOWELL. I was sent as a student to the International Lenin University.

"Mr. WHITLEY. Where is that located?

"Mr. NOWELL. It is located in Moscow.

"Mr. WHITLEY. Who sent you there?

"Mr. NOWELL. The Central Committee of the Communist Party.

"Mr. WHITLEY. Of the United States?

"Mr. NOWELL. Of the United States.

"Mr. WHITLEY. For how long did you remain there?

"Mr. NOWELL. I remained there from September 1931 up to December 1932.

"Mr. WHITLEY. Approximately 2 years?

"Mr. NOWELL. Approximately 2 years; at least 18 months.

"Mr. WHITLEY. And who paid your expenses, both your traveling expenses and your living expenses, while you were in Moscow?

"Mr. NOWELL. My traveling expenses were paid by the Central Committee of the Communist Party; my living expenses were paid by the Communist International and the Russian Government, while there in school.

²⁹ Hearings, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, vol. 7, September 1939, pp. 4593, 4594.

"Mr. WHITLEY. Were there other American students in the Lenin School or University in Moscow with you?

"Mr. NOWELL. There were; approximately 30.

* * * * *

"Mr. WHITLEY. What was the nature of the studies or instruction that you received in the Lenin University?

"Mr. NOWELL. Our theoretical studies consisted of Marxian economics; Leninism, which is called philosophy there; trade unionism, that is, trade-union strike strategy; labor history; the history of the two internationals; the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Our other studies were military science. We studied how to dismantle the weapons of the leading countries, that is, their main weapons, such as rifles or machineguns and so on. I also studied secret service, codes. We studied strategy, beginning with the organization of a fraction—a shop fraction—clear up to the control of a trade union, or mass organization, and developed the political parallel along with it. That is, the ideological development of the people under the influence of these fractions, and when a certain strategy applies at a certain time, and how to change that consequent upon the development of the political understanding of a person and lead him up to the higher stage, and eventually using all of these developments that we were going to consciously carry out, to make a revolution. So hence we studied the details of how to develop street fights. I mean, how to do barricade fighting, how to seize control of a city, the most strategic, economically, and technically strategic points, and so on.

* * * * *

"Mr. NOWELL * * * We studied the strategy of what we called the proletarian uprising. In other words, the science of civil warfare was developed down to its fine points. And a number of people were sent to the Red army to secure further training in this respect.

"Mr. WHITLEY. A number of American students?

"Mr. NOWELL. Yes. In fact, I spent some time in the Red army myself, but I was just making a practical study of the army, and doing international propaganda work; that is, lecturing and so on.

"I was sent there for a while to make a practical study of the organization of the army, the tactics, the methods, and so on, corresponding to the instructions we had been given. These studies we had been given by a Red army commander who was an attaché from the Red army of the Lenin University.

* * * * *

"Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know what happened to any of the other people that were there when you were there? Do you know where any of them went, what they have done?

"Mr. NOWELL. Morris Childs,⁴⁰ who went under the alias of Summers there, I last heard of him, and according to newspaper reports, he is the district secretary of the Communist Party of Chicago; * * *

* * * * *

"Mr. STARNES. In the school you attended, you stated, they taught you revolutionary methods, and that some of you were trained in the Russian Army. Will you get down to detail as to what type of training was given you? Was it strictly military training or specialized training of some sort in the use of certain weapons and certain tactics?

"Mr. NOWELL. We were given regular military training. That is, we studied military science, strategy, such as is general in almost all countries. The strategy is pretty much the same, except in countries of different geographical situations, and so on. We had target practice and all that. Then we were taught what is called partisan warfare, the science of civil warfare, revolutionary uprising. It is not done legitimately and openly. You don't march in brigades and fight like armies that are meeting each other.

"Mr. STARNES. I want you to bring out that factor.

"Mr. NOWELL. The conspiratory type of warfare. It is related to the boring-in process, street fighting, and how to mobile in blocks, in a city, the workers in a plant; how to develop a general strike out of a local strike; how to develop a general strike into a city uprising, a city uprising into a national uprising, coordinating all these different uprisings. Then how to lead this thing, once it is raised, once these men are on the warpath, how to direct them. Then we come to something like open warfare. We break these people down into groups;

⁴⁰ Morris Childs attended the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in January 1959. In recent years he has been active in Latin America.

we make armies on the basis of the immediate emergency of the moment, or whatever the situation may be. We were given to know that in a revolutionary situation you cannot follow out mechanically any particular plan, only your objective. It is a tense situation. Therefore a party having an organization, with its fingers on everything—every portion of the city and its population, that it can depend on—is prepared to direct all its forces in the way they should be.

"Mr. STARNES. Were you taught to concentrate particularly on utilities, and munitions plants, or anything to that effect?

"Mr. NOWELL. The food supply, the warehouses, the utilities, that is water and lights, gas, and all those things; the communications, that is the railways entering the city, the streetcar service, telephone service, and telegraph; and all those things.

"Mr. STARNES. In other words, that is communications. You were talking figuratively a few moments ago when you mentioned 'utilities.'

"Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

"Mr. STARNES. Were you given any instructions in sabotage?

"Mr. NOWELL. Sabotage; how to wreck trains, at this point closing down factories, facilitating discontent to raise the mob spirit in order to get the men on the go, and various other acts of sabotage, which, of course, could be attempted on a moment's notice. Also, the general method of derailing a train and destroying its cargo. I mean, if it is going to be available for the enemy, just put it full speed ahead when you know there is another train coming head-on, and just step aside."⁴¹

CONCLUSIONS

1. In some Latin American countries, Communist Parties controlling an insignificant minority of the total votes cast, have resorted to the policy of manipulating and inciting mobs to accomplish political and diplomatic objectives in the interest of Soviet foreign policy.

2. These operations are directed primarily against the American Government, to defeat its objectives and humiliate its spokesmen and representatives.

3. Latin American Communists succeeded in seriously interfering with the Bogotá Inter-American Conference. They subjected Vice President Richard M. Nixon and his wife to a most humiliating experience.

4. Attacks are concentrated upon American property and personnel.

5. The American Government has not in the past successfully been properly prepared for and prevented such occurrences.

6. The resort to international financial aid, no matter how generous, has not of itself furnished an adequate preventive against anti-American, Communist-inspired mob violence.

7. Despite the numerous examples of worldwide Communist imperialism and brutality, there have been few cases of mob violence against Communist embassies or agencies.

8. For the most part the Communists operate behind the scenes making use of uninformed and excitable teenagers, students, and illiterates.

9. As a rule the Communists wait for a suitable issue to arise on the basis of which they can successfully provoke mob excitement and violence. If the issue does not exist, they create one.

10. In large measure the Communists exploit economic difficulties and nationalist emotions.

11. The Communists' standard practice is to employ nonmilitary weapons, easily accessible to the mob, such as stones, poster sticks, clubs, gasoline, kerosene, homemade bombs, etc. These have been supplemented by the looting of guns and ammunition from hardware stores.

12. The techniques followed by the Communists parallel those taught in special schools for international Communist agents in the Soviet Union.

13. By allying themselves with political groups in power, the Communists have succeeded in minimizing police action and interference against the mobs they have incited.

14. Communists make adequate preparations far in advance for their inspired riots, through provocative mass meetings, leaflets, broadcasts, cartoons, newspaper articles, and even assassinations.

15. The Communist Party does not deplore bloodshed in connection with anti-American riots in the belief that such occurrences tend to excite the mob to greater violence.

⁴¹ Hearings, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, vol. 11, October, November, December, 1939, pp. 7020, 7021, 7022, 7023, 7025.

16. The Communists have utilized their control of labor unions, to augment the mobs operating under their direction.
17. Communist-controlled mobs have concentrated upon strategic targets such as police stations, radio stations, the American Embassy and other American agencies, in accordance with Soviet-inspired strategy.
18. As a rule the Communists and their Moscow mentors have disclaimed all responsibility for mob violence in the face of clear evidence to the contrary.
19. Leaders of the Communist Parties of Colombia, Venezuela, and Bolivia have been in Moscow where they have received instruction and directives, including the handling of mobs and military techniques.
20. The success achieved by the Communists in manipulating mobs for anti-American incitement will encourage them to further efforts of this kind on a larger scale.

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NOTE.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the name of an individual or an organization in this index.

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